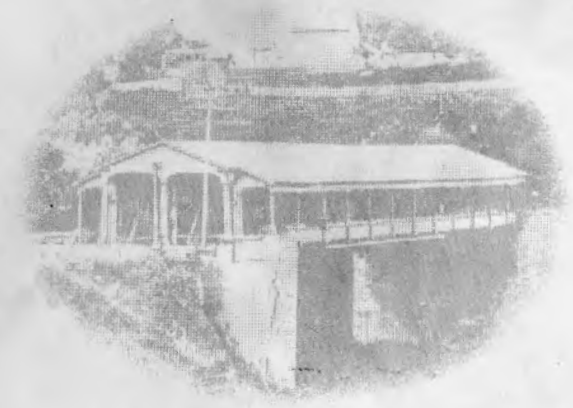


THE GERMAN - AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO RICHMOND'S DEVELOPMENT:

1833 - 1933



**By
Donald M. Royer**



**THE INDIANA GERMAN HERITAGE SOCIETY
INDIANAPOLIS, IN.
THE RICHMOND GERMAN HERITAGE SOCIETY
RICHMOND, IN.**

**PRINTED BY
AUGUSTIN PRESS
1989**

To my esteemed friends,
Dick and Joan Reynolds
from Don Royer

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book was made possible by the valuable information provided by the nearly fifty persons of German descent whose names appear in the Appendix. Many of them are presently active in the Richmond German Heritage Society.

Special mention should be made of Roland "Doc" Cutter and Dorothy Cutter, Howard Holthouse, and the late Ed Kaeuper and Edith Kaeuper, Ellen Bartel Klemperer, Joanna Mikesell, Marie and Helene Nordsieck, Henriette Nordsieck Pierson, Argus Ogborn and Charles Waltermann. They not only provided family and other historical materials, but also helped edit sections of the book.

Professor Robert Southard, professor of history at Earlham College, provided invaluable assistance by editing those sections of the book dealing with 19th century Germany.

Barbara Barnhizer provided assistance in research and design for the book.

Finally, a word of appreciation is due the Indiana German Heritage Society for its sponsorship of the project. Past President, Dr. Eberhard Reichmann of Indiana University, has made a major contribution to the final editing of the book. Dr. Ruth Reichmann and William Selm, Society officers, have lent their encouragement and support.

FOREWORD

The revival of historical interest generated by the nation's 200th birthday continues. Today, more people than ever before are actively engaged in genealogy, family and local history. Researching our origins on both the personal and community levels is indeed the prerequisite for correcting a historiography that has steadfastly minimized the multi-ethnic nature of the American experience.

The Indiana experience has been significantly influenced by the population segment whose forefathers came from the German-speaking countries. Between 1830 and 1930 some 6 million Germans alone chose the land of freedom and economic opportunity, and many of them came to the Hoosier state. According to the 1980 U. S. Census, approximately one out of three Hoosiers has some form of German ancestry. Small wonder, for during the 19th century German-speaking immigrants accounted for more than fifty percent of the state's foreign-born, and thousands who had first settled in the eastern parts of the country -- notably in Pennsylvania and Ohio -- were later attracted to Indiana.

The Tricentennial of German Immigration to America (1683-1983) started a rediscovery process. The "forgotten" Hoosier Germans are being researched and documented in many communities. Grandfather's and grandmother's letters and mementos, written in old German script, salvaged from dusty boxes in the attic, are translated and evaluated, and so are church records from numerous German parishes and congregation.

The Indiana German Heritage Society, founded in 1984, has been encouraging this long overdue rediscovery process. Through its Newsletter, annual meetings, research programs, publications, and consultations with many communities and historical organizations, the Society's work for the preservation of the state's German heritage has brought gratifying results. We note with great pleasure the growth of regional and local efforts in this same direction.

The story of the Richmond Germans, as presented so competently by Donald M. Royer, is a most welcome addition to our documentation on the Hoosier Germans and their contributions to the building of

Indiana. Along with the friends of history, the Social Studies and German language and culture programs, especially in Wayne County, should also find this work extremely useful. In fact, its structure is such that it can well serve as a model for other communities.

Our thanks to the author for a job well done.

Eberhard Reichmann

Chair of Publications,
Indiana German Heritage Society

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Original Main Street Bridge (1834).
John Peterson and other pioneer settlers from Hanover were the stonemasons. Looking east and slightly north.



INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this socio-historical study is to explain the origins of Richmond's 19th and 20th century German settlers. Where in Germany did they live? What were the conditions which led to their emigration? Why did they choose the Richmond area? What has been their role in Richmond's development since the early decades of the 19th century?

The role of 19th century German settlers in the Richmond area has been dealt with but sparingly in histories and accounts of the development of the community.

The *Wayne County History* published in 1884^{*} identified only sixteen German settlers, all presumably community leaders at a time when there were nearly 2,000 persons of direct German ancestry and another 2,000 or more of German-American ancestry in the county. In addition to the sixteen Richmondites several score of other Germans living throughout the county were also mentioned. The author also cited Fraternal Orders with exclusively German membership, e.g., Germania Lodge, No. 115 K. of P.; The German Mutual Benefit Association of Richmond organized in 1856; Herman Lodge No. 999, I.O.O.F.; Harmonia Encampment, No. 75, I.O.O.F.; and Hermania Lodge, N. 25, Daughters of Rebakah.

There were also references in the 1884 History to the German-speaking churches established on Richmond's southside between 1844 and 1860: St. John's Lutheran Church, 1844, St. Andrew Catholic Parish, 1846, St. Paul's Lutheran Church, 1853 and the German Methodist Episcopal Church, 1860. Other than these brief references, no mention was made of the role of the German settlers in the economic development of the community between 1830 and 1884.

It is an established fact that a significant number of German settlers brought with them craft skills in woodworking, cabinetmaking, stone and brick masonry and construction which they used in the building of the National Road, railroad lines, and bridges across the Whitewater River, especially the Old National Road Bridge. They were also instrumental

^{*} Interstate Publishing Co., Vol. II, Chicago, Ill.

in the construction of scores of flour, woolen and sawmills along the Whitewater River.

The Chase and Trayer Piano companies had been in operation for nearly a decade when the 1884 History was written but no mention was made of the significant contribution made by German wood craftsmen in the building of the Chase pianos. Informants of German ancestry in the current study whose fathers or grandfathers worked for the Chase, Trayer and the Starr Piano companies contended that the German settlers were the craftsmen who contributed the most to the building of the thousands of pianos produced from the 1870's to 1952.

A 1983 publication concerning the *History of the Whitewater Gorge* devotes four pages to the Starr Piano Factory mentioning only that the "first piano craftsmen arrived in 1872". The source of the craftsmen was not mentioned. The only names identified with the Starr Piano works were Jackson, the Starrs and Gennett -- all of Anglo-Saxon ancestry.¹

Perhaps it is the lot of craftsmen to be overlooked by the recorders of historical events. Only the owners of industries seem to receive recognition and in the 1800's most of the industrialists were Anglo-Saxons, many of them Quakers.

One gets the sense from the recorded history of the period from 1830 to 1900 that the German population in the Richmond area, although numbering nearly 6,000 by the end of the century, was a somewhat invisible minority.

Luther Feeger, Richmond's preeminent historian, was a German-American, but in his thirty-four page booklet, *A Brief History of Early Richmond*, published first in 1942, he devoted only five lines to the German settlers. Feeger reported on page 20 that, "the era of internal improvements (1830-1840) brought an influx of German and Irish immigrants who, in the course of the years became assimilated and through their thrift, industry and good citizenship, became substantial elements of the community life".

The first attempt to describe the origins of the German-American community in the Richmond area was made by Fred Bartel, son of a first-generation settler, Adam Bartel. For his senior thesis at Earlham College in 1900 he wrote a thirty-page account of "The Institutional Influence of the German Element of the Population of Richmond". The thesis, still available in the Earlham College Library archives, details the background of the first-generation German settlers in the area. Relying mainly on interviews and city records he provided an invaluable

account of why the German settlers left north Germany and why they chose the Richmond area for their American home.

In a sense, this current study of German settlers, part sociological, part historical and part genealogical is simply an extension of the research started by Fred Bartel, father of Mrs. Ellen Klemperer, in 1900.

On the basis of available documents, one must conclude no other similar study has been pursued in the 20th century.

There have been some invaluable church histories, especially St. John's and St. Paul's Lutheran, and St. Andrew Catholic, but no research has attempted to study the entire community.

No sources mention the Jews of possible German extraction who have lived in the community since 1871.

Push and Pull Factors In Emigration

All the histories of migrations from one country to another indicate that there are almost always strong "push" and "pull" factors at work.

The 19th century German migration to the Richmond area was caused by, at least, three "push" factors:

(1) Landlessness and lack of economic opportunity among small farmers and craftsmen in North Germany, especially the Kingdom of Hanover (now Lower Saxony province), the source of most of Richmond's immigrants.

(2) Resistance to military conscription among Hanoverian farmers and craftsmen both Lutheran and Catholic. Pacifism, of course, was not the reason for the resistance. Opposition to conscription stemmed from extremely low pay, length of time required to serve, and the need for families to keep their sons at home as a source of income. In addition, a strong anti-Prussian bias pervaded the Kingdom of Hanover.

(3) Political upheaval. A series of earthshaking events, including the French Revolution; Napoleon's invasion of the German states and kingdoms and most of Europe; the dissolution of the feudal system; the imposition of the Napoleonic Code; and the breakup of the Holy Roman Empire led to considerable unrest among the citizens of the German states. In the Kingdom of Hanover itself the revolutionary movement during the 1830's "spread from Hanover's famous University of Goettingen to the towns and country",² and while the movement engendered widespread discontent, no reforms followed.

The early migration of German settlers to the Richmond area between 1833 and 1850 consisted of immigrants who arrived in Cincinnati by way of Baltimore and New Orleans with little or no knowledge of the Whitewater Valley until arrival.

In Cincinnati, reports circulated about the building of a new National Road through the Richmond area, and the need for stonemasons and bridge builders. "In August, 1834, the Richmond *Palladium* carried an announcement by the contractor for the National Road Bridge across East Fork of Whitewater River, offering 'the highest price in cash for good laborers at the Richmond bridge on the Cumberland Road. Also, an additional number of stone cutters wanted, for which \$1.50 per day will be given for good workmen'."³

In addition, nearly fifty flour, saw, oil and paper mills along the Whitewater Gorge needed stonemasons, wheelwrights and wood craftsmen for building and maintenance.

After 1850, railroad building and the bridges necessary to carry trains across the Gorge attracted many German artisans to the area.

Canal building, of course, was also an important magnet to the counties south and west of Richmond. Many German and Irish Catholics settled in the towns along the canal route from Lawrenceburg to Brookville to Cambridge City, but few of the canal builders settled in the Richmond area.

Another important "pull" for German immigrants to the Richmond area after 1850 was the presence here of first-generation immigrants who had arrived penniless in the 1830's and 1840's. Within a decade or two they had become landowners and had accumulated enough wealth to pay passage for relatives and friends from the villages around Osnabrueck. America, the land of opportunity, never seemed brighter than to these early German settlers from the war-torn, politically unstable and poverty-stricken villages of North Germany.

Religious Composition of Immigrants to Richmond Area

Lower Saxony, the ancestral home of most of Richmond's early settlers, has historically been a Protestant area while the south, especially Bavaria, has been predominantly Catholic.

The Richmond area, however, drew Catholics and Lutherans alike from the Osnabrueck area, a bare sixty miles South of the port city of Bremerhaven on the North Sea. Only a handful of Richmond's German Catholic population appears to have come from the southern provinces of Baden-Wuerttemberg and Bavaria.

In addition to the Catholics and Lutherans who settled in the Richmond area before 1900, there were some Jewish families who may have been of German origin. An account of the Jewish community in Richmond mentions that the roots of the present Jewish community in Richmond can be traced to the arrival of Sam and Simon Fox, clothing

merchants, in 1866.⁴ Solomon Fox and his family followed in 1871, and by 1873 had established his own haberdashery at 628 Main Street. Solomon's son, George, ran the business after 1912, and was succeeded in turn by his son, Alvin. The shop became Richman Brothers.

During the first two decades of the 20th century, the Fox's were Richmond's leading Jewish family. They were not only active in Richmond's Jewish Temple, but were also members of the Rotary Club as well as the Elks Club and Masonic Lodge.

Several businessmen who knew George and Alvin Fox indicated that the Foxes were German-speaking Alsatians who had emigrated because of the turmoil of the Franco-Prussian War. This was also a period when a new wave of anti-Semitism was beginning in western Europe.

The fact that George Fox's wife's maiden name was Spiesberger lends further credence to a possible German-Jewish origin. In addition to the Foxes, there were the Harsch, Hasenberg and Tietz families in the Jewish community who may have had roots in Germany.

German-American Share of Population

As early as 1875, persons of German origin comprised nearly one-third of Richmond's population of around 12,000. By 1900, when Fred Bartel studied the German settlers in depth, he concluded that they made up over thirty-percent of the population but owned nearly forty-percent of the businesses.⁵

TABLE 1

GROWTH OF GERMAN-AMERICAN POPULATION IN THE RICHMOND AREA -- 1875-1980

Year	Total	German-American	%
1875	11,579	3,753	32
1900	20,000	6,100	31
1980	41,780	12,426	38*

Sources: *History of Wayne County* Vol II, Interstate Publishing Co., Chicago, 1884. Fred Bartel "The Institutional Influence of the German Element of the Population in Richmond", Earlham College, Richmond, 1900. *U.S. Census Reports, 1980*.

*Includes 4610 of single German ancestry and 7816 of German and other ancestry.

Eighty years later the census figures reported nearly 42,000 Richmond residents. Of those, some 28,000 reported their ancestry, and nearly thirty-eight percent of the 28,000 reported either German or mixed German ancestry.

One can surmise, therefore, that persons of full or mixed German ancestry have comprised between thirty and forty percent of Richmond's population since 1885.

Osnabrueck Area as Major Source of Local Settlers

The history of migration indicates that migrants from a given county (*Kreis*) usually find their way to the same locality in the States. Such was the case with Germans who came directly to Richmond in the 19th and 20th centuries. Almost all of them came from *Kreis* Osnabrueck.

FIGURE 1

ORIGINS OF GERMAN SETTLERS IN THE RICHMOND AREA*



FAMILIES FROM SOUTH AND CENTRAL GERMAN PROVINCES:

<u>Baden-Wuerttemberg</u>	<u>Hesse</u>	<u>Bavaria</u>	<u>Saxony</u>
Getz	Neff	Gaar	Grundman
Lahrman	Whisenhunt	Holthouse	Holtkamp
Maier		Weidner	Koehring
Strauss			
Stolle			
Wagner			
Werner			

*Includes only those families who provided family histories for this study.

**Towns typed in lower-case letters are mainly farm villages within ten to twenty miles of Osnabrueck city.

Those Richmond families who have the most detailed records indicate that the majority of the early settlers came from the villages around Osnabrueck such as Belm, Schleddehausen, Damme, Glane, Bippin, Melle, Linne, Ostercappeln and Astrup, villages that appear only on the most detailed maps of West Germany today. The Osnabrueck area was and is part of the North German plain -- a flat but fertile area with many rivers draining into the North and Baltic Seas. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, this area, along with Prussia to the north and east, was the locale of great feudal estates, whose break-up in the early 19th century contributed to the migration of Richmond's early German settlers.

Osnabrueck is now a bustling industrial city of nearly 160,000 at the junction of two major Autobahns, and lies along the north end of the mid-German Highlands. The famous Ruhr mining and industrial district is just fifty miles to the south, while Bremerhaven on the North Sea, the port of embarkation for thousands of Hanoverians during the 19th century, is sixty miles to the north.

Some Unexpected Findings

One of the unexpected findings was that one of the earliest Quaker families in the Richmond area was the well-known and influential Hoover (Huber) family. Andrew Hoover, Jr. and his son David were instrumental in influencing other North Carolina Quakers to settle in the Richmond area. David was the very first European to explore the north end of the Richmond area in 1806 according to his *Memoir*. The Hoover cabin still stands south of the Middlefork Reservoir.

Andrew Hoover, Sr. had apparently migrated to Germantown, Pennsylvania in the early 1700's with his parents at the invitation of William Penn. While in the Germantown-Philadelphia area they may have become Quakers. Later, they migrated to Guilford County, North Carolina with other Quakers from Pennsylvania. From there they migrated to an area north of Dayton where West Milton now stands. Finding the area unsatisfactory, David, a surveyor, with a few friends blazed a trail along Section lines through "unbroken forest" to the Middle Fork of the Whitewater River just north of the Gorge. Overjoyed by the beauty and resources of the area he reported to his father that the "land

of promise" they were looking for had at last been found. The family moved to the Middle Fork area later in 1806.

Were they also Hanoverians? David Hoover wrote in his *Memoir* that his maternal grandfather, Rudolph Waymire, emigrated from the Kingdom of Hanover and "bragged that he had been a soldier under His Britannic Majesty and that he was at the battle of Dettingen in 1743".⁶

Since 1693 the Kingdom of Hanover had been an electorate whose ruler helped elect the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1714, the Elector of Hanover became George I of England, and England's House of Hanover through Georges I-IV and William IV ruled the Kingdom of Hanover until 1837.⁷

While Rudolph Waymire boasted of his service under George I, his granddaughter Elizabeth wrote:

My father J. P. Waymire left Hanover about 1750 because he could not endure the subservience of living in a land controlled and governed by the caprices of royalty. So the family sailed for America. We landed in Philadelphia and later moved to Guilford County, North Carolina.⁸

Ironically, it was David Hoover, the only German among the founding fathers who named the new settlement Richmond. Called Smithsville at the outset, "the name not giving satisfaction," according to Hoover in his short *Memoir* "Thomas Roberts, James Pegg and myself, were chosen to select another. Roberts proposed Waterfield, Pegg, Plainfield and I, Richmond. The last was approved by the lotholders."

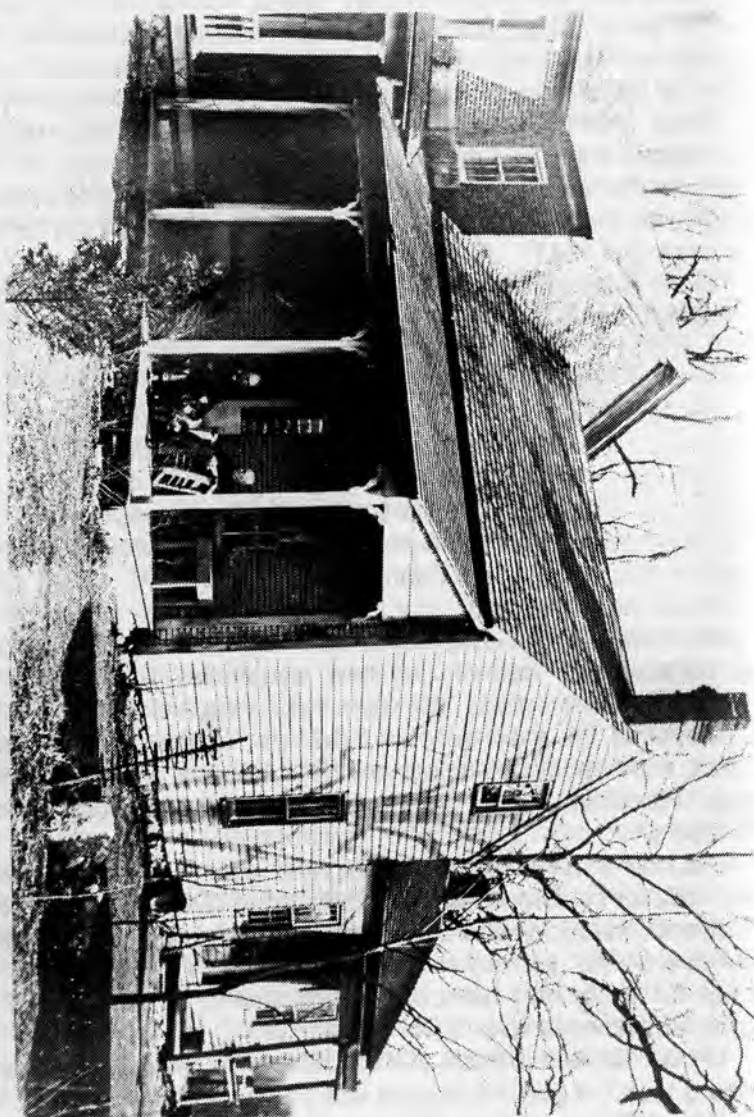
Did Hoover have Richmond, England in mind since almost all of the early Quaker settlers were of English origin? Or, was he remembering Richmond, Kentucky where his family may have received hospitality on their five-weeks' journey to the north? Or was it Richmond, Virginia where his family may have stayed temporarily on their trek from Germantown, Pennsylvania to North Carolina?

In his *Pioneer Sketches of the Whitewater Valley*, Bernhard Knollenberg took the position that he was thinking of the Kentucky town.

Daniel Boone and his woodsmen had built the only usable route from the southeast to Kentucky in 1775. Between 1775 and 1800 thousands of pioneers followed that trail which became known as the Wilderness Road. Passing through the Cumberland Gap the Road

* President Herbert Hoover was a direct descendent of the Andrew Hoover family. President Hoover was also a Quaker.

David Hoover Home
The David Hoover home at 1715 Sylvan Nook Drive. Original log cabin in foreground built about 1810.



finally terminated near Richmond, Kentucky. Knollenberg observed that the Kentucky town was likely the first settlement of any consequence that the weary travelers encountered after a month or more of bumping along over rough and sometimes hazardous trails made so by attacks by Indian bands who resented encroachment on their tribal lands. Eventually, according to David Hoover, after about thirty-five days the family crossed the Ohio River at Cincinnati.

To document his argument that the Wilderness Road was the route chosen by the Hoovers and most of the early Quaker settlers from the southeast, Knollenberg notes that as late as 1822, Levi Coffin used this route because it "was considered the best route for loaded wagons".

Another finding of this study is the fact that the first family who moved here directly from Germany were the Baumers in 1833. The Baumers were Catholics rather than Lutherans as might have been expected.

The Gaars and Hoovers, of course, had been here since the first decade of the century, but they came to Richmond after several years' residence in Virginia and North Carolina.

Another unexpected finding was that the George Fox who lived in Richmond between 1871 and 1940 was a member of a Jewish family from Alsace-Lorraine, and possibly of German background. Ironically, another George Fox, born over a century earlier in England, was the founder of the Society of Friends.

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO EMIGRATION FROM KINGDOM OF HANOVER AFTER 1830

Social scientists refer to the "pushes" and "pulls" that cause dissatisfied citizens of one country to pull up stakes, often centuries deep, to migrate to a distant and unknown land.

In the case of the thousands of Hanoverians who left their farm villages around Osnabrueck during the first half of the 19th century for America, the "pushes" had to be especially strong. For most of these farmers and craftsmen were desperately poor, often landless peasants who likely had never traveled more than fifty miles from their small farm holdings throughout their lives. Some of them, of course, made their way during the summer season to Holland possibly fifty miles away, to earn money for their hoped-for trip to the "promised land".

Many of them had been bound to their feudal lords for generations with no freedom of movement whatsoever.

Given this background, what were the powerful economic forces that uprooted thousands of the Hanoverians who came to America in the 19th century?

The French Revolution -- the End of Feudalism

The battle cry of the French Revolution of 1789, "liberty, equality and fraternity", was not lost on the rulers of the Kingdom of Hanover and Prussia in the last decade of the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th century.

The centuries old feudal system was gradually dismantled by the rulers of Prussia and Hanover. The breakup of the system was, of course, hastened by the Napoleonic invasion of the German kingdoms during the first decade of the 19th century. The implications of this invasion will be discussed later.

The Prussian government abolished the legal supports for the feudal system there as early as 1810, but the Hanoverian authorities did not invalidate feudalism until 1833. It was then that J.C.B. Stuve from Osnabrueck, a member of the Hanoverian government, wrote a

it seems hardly possible that this, one of the worst of feudal customs should still have been in operation during the middle decades of the 19th century, but it is a fact that cannot be doubted, and was substantiated by every one I interviewed.¹¹

Once they settled in the Richmond area, however, their skills, industriousness, thrift and good management led them quickly to land ownership and steady employment as craftsmen, clerks and city workers. By the early 1850's the settlers had accumulated enough wealth to bring their still-poverty-stricken relatives from the Osnabrueck area.

To illustrate the plight of the German tenant farmers and wagehands in the Osnabrueck area in the latter half of the century more vividly, the account of the Kaeuper family is instructive.

The Kaeuper Family as Tenant Farmers¹²

F. William Kaeuper and his wife Marie (Niewoehner) lived in the village of Linne just southeast of Osnabrueck and not far from Schleddehausen between the 1860's and early 1890's. As a girl Marie had worked as a maid on the Kruwel family estate near Linne. William's family rented a small plot of land on the same landholding. This was apparently once a feudal estate because, in return for the use of their small plot of land which they used for subsistence farming, the Kaeupers were required to provide labor and service for which they received no wage. At harvest time the entire family was expected to help with the Kruwel's crops.

Fortunately, William Kaeuper was skillful with tools and his chief occupation was that of carpenter and cabinetmaker....Carrying his tools on his back, he went from farm to farm in the area, making tables, chairs and coffins.

This was the Kaeuper family's only source of income except for the surplus butter that Marie churned from the one cow they owned. The income was barely enough to provide necessities. The crops raised on their small subsistence plot included potatoes, vegetables and rye for the black bread (*Bauern Brot*) which was a staple of the family diet.

The Kaeupers also raised flax which they wove into linen for the family's clothing. Linen weaving had been a money making cottage industry in the Osnabrueck area during the early decades of the century,



The Fred Kaeuper Family

Fred's parents were landless tenant farmers in Linne near Osnabrueck from 1860's to 1890's. Fred became foreman at Starr Piano Co. Mary, homemaker and mother. Willard, Ezra and Carl, sons in first row, became salesmen at Adam H. Bartel Co. Corrine and Mary (left and center) became nurses. Marie became head cashier at Wittenberg University. Carl became bookkeeper at Adam H. Bartel Co. Paul, right rear, became professor of law, University of Michigan.

but by the latter decades such weaving was apparently done only for home consumption.

The first son born to the Kaeupers was Frederick John. Born in 1874 he was the first of nine children. After his confirmation at age 14, Fred's school days ended. He had hoped to be apprenticed to a master cabinetmaker who lived some distance away, but worked as a farmhand instead on the nearby Meyerhof dairy farm during the three years prior to his 1892 departure for Richmond. The very meager salary of about \$2.50 monthly was given directly to father Kaeuper. Like other *Bauern Knechte*, Fred lived with the Meyerhof family in a loft of the dairy barn.

By the early 1890's, the Kaeupers were still tenant farmers, landless and poor. So the decision was made in 1892 for the two oldest sons, Fred, now 17, and his brother Henry to sail alone from Bremerhaven to Baltimore and then to go by rail to Richmond. There the Claumour Pilgrims who had paid their passage, awaited them. The parents followed shortly thereafter with the remaining children.

The Kaeupers became homeowners for the first time in their lives in 1895 on Richmond's southside. Fred started a fifty-eight-year career at Starr Piano Co. in 1893 and eventually became foreman of the keys department. Son Paul, the family historian, became a professor of law at the University of Michigan. Paul's son Tom became a professor of law at the same University. Ed Kaeuper, a nephew, became a member of the editorial staff of the *Richmond Palladium-Item*, a position he held for forty-six years.

The Impact of The Feudal System on Hanover

While feudalism ended in the Kingdom of Hanover in 1833, the accounts of dire poverty among 19th century German settlers in the Richmond area presented above by Bartel and Kaeuper suggest that the customs surrounding feudalism persisted for several generations.

Liwwaet (Elizabeth) Boeke (1807-1882), a remarkably perceptive woman who grew up in Neuenkirchen just northwest of Osnabrueck, summed up the most damaging aspect of life in Hanover in those days: "Under the feudal system children were locked into the class into which they were born. All of this contributed to the emigration of large numbers of these humble people."¹³

Liwwaet was a case in point. Having grown up in the peasant class in a *Hof* (a farm settlement) near Neuenkirchen, she was denied the opportunities that a highly talented writer and artist should have enjoyed. She did attend the Catholic school nearby for a number of years, but prior to her 1834 emigration to Cincinnati at age 27, her talents were

largely unused and unnoticed. Had she grown up in a freer society, she might have been a historian of note. Her extensive writings and artwork were preserved by her great-grandson, Vincent Boeke.

The Napoleonic Code and Primogeniture

One of the rules of feudal societies was the right of the oldest son in the family to inherit the estate. This practice was instituted to prevent the breaking up of large feudal estates in countries like Germany, England and France.

With the introduction of the Napoleonic Code into German civil law in 1810, however, this practice called primogeniture (*Erstgeburtsrecht*) was officially ended. Henceforth, inheritance rights were to be treated equally among children. The practice was called *parcelization*, i.e., land should be inherited equally by each heir.

Like some other feudal customs, however, primogeniture apparently did not disappear. A number of German settlers in the Richmond area left Germany because they were second or third sons (*Der Kleine*), who were consigned to being tenant farmers on their older brothers' farms. H. Diederich Meyer left the Dothen-Bippen area in 1847 because he was the landless "second son" *Der Kleine*. His brother, the inheritor, was obviously *Der Grosse* (the first-born). Here he plied his craft as a carpenter and was responsible for renovating St. John's Lutheran Church. It was only after a period of indenture to a farmer in Union County near Liberty, however, that he was able to escape the plight of a landless second son. He soon became a property owner in the new land of opportunity.¹⁴

George Wagner, from Kocherstetten in the southern province of Baden (now Baden-Wuerttemberg), migrated to America in the 1880's because primogeniture was still in effect there. George, *Der Kleine*, came to Marion, Indiana, and then to Richmond.¹⁵ As a second son, he was landless in Baden, but quickly acquired land in the American midwest where primogeniture had been ruled illegal in the 18th century.

Other second and third sons, landless and mired in poverty, may have also come to the Richmond area because of primogeniture, but records are not available to verify that fact. Still others may have come because of parcelization of land. A family with ten acres of land and four sons would have parceled that land into two and one-half acre plots, making each plot uneconomical to farm.

The Impact of the Napoleonic Invasion

One may wonder why the French influence was felt so strongly in northern Germany in the early decades of the 19th century. It wasn't just the impact of the French Revolution itself which produced the upheavals in German society. Napoleon also invaded and conquered Germany and most of Europe between 1806 and 1812 and imposed the Napoleonic Code on the Germans whether they wanted it or not. Not only was the feudal system undermined, but the Holy Roman Empire and its system of governing was essentially destroyed. His conquest led to the German Confederation in 1815 which consisted of thirty-five small German duchies and four city states. Many peasants and other have-nots, of course, welcomed the new order free of feudalism.

The Rise and Decline of Linen Weaving as a Cottage Industry

There was a time in the early decades of the 19th century when the growing of flax and the weaving of linen cloth from that flax was a major cottage industry, and an important source of income for farmers in the Osnabrueck area. During the winter months, whole families spent their time spinning flax and weaving linen cloth in their cottages--hence the term cottage industry. By the early 1830's, however, Liwwaet Boeke observed, "handwoven linen could no longer compete with machine-woven linen and cotton. At about this same time, Holland no longer required large numbers of migrant workers. The poor were reduced to a desperate condition. We were starving."¹⁶

Speaking of the linen cottage industry, Thomas Hodgskin, a British visitor to Osnabrueck in 1820 noted:

It is a place of considerable trade, from being in the centre of a country where a great quantity of linen is made, and which is brought here for inspection and sale. The coarse linen called Osnabrueck was formerly very much in use, but its place is now in a great measure supplied by cheaper articles made from cotton. The hall in which linen is measured, stamped, and sold, is called a linen legge. There are persons appointed by the government to inspect the linen brought for sale, to stamp it, and to declare to what class it belongs as to fineness and size.

A great number of peasants, all cleanly dressed,

had brought their webs on Saturday for inspection and sale. Some waited the selling rather anxiously, but most of them were free and full of speech. They were happy to see one another, and they overflowed with words. Two men measured every web, it was then rolled up, its quantity marked on it, and the inspector decided to what class it belonged.¹⁷

After the decline of the cottage industry, and the inability of the Osnabrueckers to find summer work in Holland, the exodus from the area began in earnest. Between 1832 and 1866, over 7,000 peasants and burghers left the Osnabrueck area for America and other destinations.

TABLE 2

EMIGRATION FROM OSNABRUECK AREA: 1834-1857

1834-348 Emigrants	1846-282
1836-314	1848-282
1842-399	1852-291
1844-283	1853-318
1845-674	1857-256

Source: Karl Kiel, *Grunde und Folgen der Auswanderung aus dem Osnabrucker Regierungsbezirk (1823-1866)*. Munster, 1940.

In 1820 Osnabrueck was a city of only 10,000 persons. Even though the villages in the area expanded that figure by several thousand, the loss of 7,000 over a thirty-year period was a significant one.

Liwwaet Boeke reported that, beginning in 1830, the village of Neuenkirchen lost half of its population to emigration.

Despite the bleak picture painted of the Osnabrueck area in the 1820's by Hodgskin, he did have some positive thoughts about the city.

"The palace, the townhouse, the court of justice, the cathedral, are all good buildings, and there are a great many good-looking private homes belonging to merchants. Though not the largest, it is undoubtedly the best situated, and the handsomest town of his Majesty's dominions."¹⁸ The Kingdom of Hanover was then ruled by the King of England, George IV.

Economic Depression and Potato Famine, 1845

An economic crash had shaken Britain in the early 1840's. This, in turn, affected the industries of Germany. Between 1844 and 1847, the export of unbleached linen yarn fell by almost 40 percent, while industrial output overall also fell sharply. By 1848, Germany was experiencing the most severe economic crisis in a generation.¹⁹

This was combined with one of the last major famines Europe has experienced. In 1845, a late blight ruined the potato harvest from Ireland to Silesia in Eastern Germany. The people of Germany were suddenly deprived of their staple food. In 1846, both the grain and potato crops failed, leading to actual starvation of hundreds of thousands in towns and cities throughout Ireland. Hunger and malnutrition were widespread in the Low Countries and in Germany as far east as the Oder River.

The famine led to an exodus of Germans and other north Europeans to America. In the years between 1834 and 1857, the largest migration of Osnabrueckers was in 1845, the year of the famine, when 674 left the area.

In summary, this combination of economic factors led to the mass migration from the Kingdom of Hanover during the early and mid-19th century:

- the persistence of feudal customs which made it impossible for landless peasants and others from the working class to rise above their station in life.

- the persistence of primogeniture or inheritance of land by the oldest sons which made it impossible for other sons to escape the landlessness and poverty into which they were born.

- the decline of the linen weaving cottage industries in early decades of the century.

- the depression and potato famine of the 1840's.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE EMIGRATION OF OSNABRUECK AREA GERMANS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The Vienna Conference of 1815 and the Restoration of the Old Regimes

Napoleon's conquest of Europe came to an abrupt end after his defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in Belgium in 1815. He had met an earlier defeat at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813.

Ancestors of Richmond area Hanoverians fought at Waterloo with the Duke of Wellington in the King of England's German Legion. In fact, "many thousands of Hanoverians fought under British colours, in the King's German legion, in all the theatres of war against Napoleon --- and contributed significantly to Wellington's victory at Waterloo".²⁰

The great uncle of J. Christopher Menke, a long-time Richmond resident, fought with Wellington at Waterloo. Unfortunately, he was also one of the 23,000 allied casualties. Menke was the grandfather of a well-known Richmond antiquarian, Argus Ogborn.

Hard on the heels of Napoleon's defeat, Europe's rulers met in Vienna in 1815 to divide the spoils of war and undo the reforms introduced by Napoleon in the wake of the French Revolution. Led by Prince Metternich of Austria, the rulers of Prussia, Great Britain and Russia controlled the conference, and conspired to restore the old royal regimes as they had existed before the 1789 Revolution. While most of the actions had little or no impact on the lives of peasants and townspeople of kingdoms like Hanover, the restoration of the power of the old feudal lords did have a decided effect. The peasants, especially, were still at the mercy of the nobility; old feudal customs were restored.

It was due to the restoration of power of the old ruling class in 1815 that Fred Bartel's informants in 1900 remembered vividly the onerous demands made on them by their former feudal lords in the 1840's and 1850's.

Hanover became a Kingdom in the newly-formed German Confederation after 1815, and was ruled by England's House of Hanover until 1837, but in reality the local nobility composed of old feudal lords imposed the rules under which the common people lived. The old feudal

lords, of course, were not disposed to yield their power over the peasants who comprised the major share of the population. Despite some moves towards a greater voice for the common people, including a liberal constitution in 1833, the lot of the peasants barely changed for the better.

With the end of the male line of the English House of Hanover in 1837, a new autocratic ruler, Ernest Augustus, became the King of Hanover. He immediately abolished the constitution, and dismissed seven famous professors from the University of Goettingen for protesting the action.²¹

FIGURE 2

OSNABRUECK IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Prior to 1714 -- Bishopric of Osnabrueck in Holy Roman Empire ruled alternately by Catholic bishops and Welf princes.

1714 - 1866 -- Incorporated into the Kingdom of Hanover. Ruled by England's House of Hanover until 1837. Annexed briefly by Prussia (1806-1814).

1866 - 1945 -- Invaded and then annexed by Prussia. Hanover became a Prussian province in the newly-formed German Empire after 1871.

1946 - ? -- Becomes part of the province of Lower Saxony in the Federal Republic. Hannover (pop. circa. 550,000) becomes provincial capital.

The University of Goettingen, founded in 1737 by King George II of England, had not only become one of the most famous universities in Europe but had also been a force for democracy in Hanover. Democratic movements throughout Germany and Europe challenged autocratic regimes in the Revolution of 1848, and succeeded in bringing democratic reforms to the rest of Europe, but not to Germany. The Old Guard, which favored authoritarianism, was still too strong.

"The Forty-Eighters"

Many Hanoverians who had favored a more democratic society simply had to flee the country for their own safety. "In addition to those who fled of their own free will, there were some who fled because judges often sentenced guilty political offenders to either emigration or a prison sentence."²²

Thousands of these political refugees fled to America and became known as the "The Forty-Eighters". They included university professors and students, pastors and theologians, lawyers and judges, physicians and scientists, writers and musicians, educators and journalists, and other non-professionals. They were among the thousands who left Germany for the United States in the 1850's. In 1854 alone some 240,000 Germans were admitted to the United States.

Among them was Carl Schurz, possibly the greatest of the German immigrants of the 19th century. He served as Minister to Spain for President Lincoln and later as Secretary of the Interior for President Hayes. In addition, he was a renowned editor and writer. His wife, Margaretha, established the first kindergarten in the United States in the early 1850's.

"The Forty-Eighters" settled in the large cities where there was greater opportunity for their talents. In Cincinnati, for instance, "The Forty-Eighters" included Heinrich Ratterman who authored a twelve-volume history of Germans in America; Dr. Isaac M. Wise, founder of Hebrew Union College; Dr. E. G. Zinke, famed professor of medicine and founder of the Ohio Maternity College; and Carl Schurz.

Holtkamps and Koehrlings as Political Refugees

Among the few political refugees who settled in the Richmond area between 1848 and 1853 were John Frederick Holtkamp (1849) and John Herman Koehring (1853), both of Leipzig in Saxony. One of their descendants, Argus Ogborn, remembers family discussions in his youth about Holtkamp and Koehring leaving Germany because of their sympathy for the aims of the 1848 Revolution, and the consequent danger to their lives. John Koehring brought with him a portrait of Robert Blum, one of the leaders of the 1848 Revolution who was executed in Vienna in that same year. Blum, whose portrait is in Mr. Ogborn's possession, was apparently one of Koehring's and possibly Holtkamp's heroes.

Blum was born to a poor working class family in Cologne, but moved to Leipzig where the Koehrlings and Holtkamps also lived. Blum had been influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution and as a young man became an eloquent, persuasive orator in support of the



ROBERT BLUM

A leader of the 1848 Revolution, Robert Blum intended to bring Democracy to Germany.

The Koehring and Holtkamp families were apparently influenced by Blum, and left Germany soon after his assassination. The Holtkamps brought a rare copy of the Blum portrait to Richmond.

rights of the common man. "From the State he demanded not only political rights, but also possibilities of work for everyone...He was always fighting for his most sacred goddess-Liberty."²³ Valentin considered him to be one of the most important figures of the age and the most remarkable.

In any event, after Blum's execution and the imprisonment of many supporters of the 1848 Revolution, the Koehring and the Holtkamps decided to emigrate to the United States because they feared for their safety. They thus became part of that large migration of "The Forty-Eighters" to the United States in the mid-19th century.

Liwwaet Boeke's Rebellion

Most Richmond immigrants of that period were likely too busy "putting bread on the table" in the farm villages around Osnabrueck to be concerned about the political currents swirling around them.

There was one woman, however, the aforementioned Liwwaet Boeke from Neuenkirchen, who gives us some insight into the sense of outrage and rebellion some of the peasant folks must have felt against the authorities during the early decades of the 19th century in Hanover. While she was a devout Catholic peasant woman, she was also an intelligent and courageous person who resented the oppression of the nobles and the Church hierarchy. In the early 1820's she wrote, "The prince-bishops and nobles are relics of the Middle Ages". Referring to obligations and payments to the landlords and the Church she complained, "...always to the Lord; here it was the bishop. He was also a noble! But not noble! Now I'll go to hell. I am not so fearful anymore as my poor, ignorant, unread forefathers." At another place referring to bureaucrats and their endless regulations, she said, "Government is a game played by servants of the state between one another."²⁴

One gets a hint from Liwwaet Boeke's writings that even the poor peasants who endured the injustices and oppression of the authorities and landlords must have been receptive to the political leaders who promised them a greater voice in the government and a more equitable share of the wealth of Hanover at that time.

In conclusion, Theodore Hamerow noted:

Yes, the lower classes did long for change, but by change they meant first and foremost an improvement in their economic status. The artisan robbed of his livelihood by industrialism,

the peasant forced to sell his farm to the nobleman, the factory worker cheated of his wages by the truck system---all favored reform providing relief from physical want. But they did not put their trust in the leaders of the liberal opposition, those well-to-do outsiders who propounded impious civic ideas and moved in a mysterious world of newspapers and political clubs.

Their pleas were sent instead to the prince, the father of his people, who would surely protect them, as he had protected their fathers before them.

Only at mid-century did the masses finally participate in open insurrection, although in doing so they responded not to political agitation, but to a desperate economic need.²⁵

CHAPTER III

MILITARY FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO EMIGRATION OF OSNABRUECK AREA GERMANS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

One of the unexpected findings of this study is the fact that a significant number of Hanoverians--Catholic and Lutheran--emigrated in the 19th century to escape military conscription. One can, of course, understand Hanoverian resistance to conscription into a Prussian-controlled German army after 1866 because many Hanoverians had resented Prussian domination for generations. After the formation of the Empire in 1871, in fact, Hanoverians formed the Hanoverian-German political party, a separatist movement which gained the support of many citizens. A pattern of resistance to military conscription in Hanover, however, appeared in the records of Richmond's immigrants as early as the 1830's.

Resistance to Conscription Among Lutherans and Catholics

Unlike the Quakers, the Lutherans and Catholics who migrated to the Richmond area had never been conscientious objectors to war. Yet nearly one-third of the nearly seventy Richmond families of German origin who provided family histories mentioned resistance to military conscription as a major reason for their emigration. (See Appendix I.)

Why did they resist conscription?

In his 1900 study of first-generation settlers in the Richmond area--families who had arrived in the 1830's, 40's and 50's--Fred Bartel found that the reasons for resisting conscription were very practical ones. The often landless peasants simply could not spare their sons for several years of service for the pittance they received. Working sons were essential to the economic survival of farm families.

The story of the Baumer family, Richmond's first Catholic family from the Damme area, north of Osnabrueck, is especially relevant here. The following account was related to Fred Bartel in 1900 by Mr. Bennett Baumer, Jr., the surviving member of the family, who had come to Richmond in 1834:

The entire army life was a hardship for all

privates, and peasants resorted to various methods to escape this service in the army. It is said that it often occurred that a peasant would purposely cut off a finger or toe, or otherwise injure himself, in order that he might be rejected by the army officials.

In 1832, Mr. Bennett Baumer, Jr. was nineteen years of age and lived with his parents at Damme in the province of Hanover. It would soon have been necessary for him to leave his home and enter the army, but during the preceeding year he resolved that he would escape this obnoxious five years of service by emigrating to the United States. He was the only son of his parents, and they earnestly opposed his leaving. His father was a surgeon, and finding that his son was determined to leave, he finally decided to emigrate to the United States with his entire family.²⁶

Draft resistance was a matter of survival, not of religious conviction, as it was for the Quakers among whom they settled in Richmond. The German settlers in Richmond were, consequently, not at odds with the Quakers on military service during the Mexican War (1846-1848) in particular.

In his historical account of the 1840's and 1850's, Bernhard Knollenberg observed that:

The Germans took no stand against the Mexican War on principle, but, detesting compulsory military service in Germany, they were delighted to shun participation in an American war which their Quaker neighbors condemned as one of sheer aggression on the part of the United States.

Consequently, while elsewhere in Indiana, companies were quickly formed...the *Richmond Palladium* reported on June 1, 1847, that the recruiting officer left this place, as he came, solitary and alone, not one convert to follow in his train. If Polk

wants men to fight his wars he must look for them elsewhere.²⁷

During the Civil War, however, Knollenberg reported that some Quakers and German settlers volunteered for the Union Army. Among the Germans who volunteered was J. Christopher Menke, who served in the Home Guard and helped repel Morgan's Raiders when they invaded Indiana in 1863.

The Case of the Only Son - The Dingwerths

The experience of the Dingwerth family who migrated to Richmond at the turn of the century suggests another reason for leaving Germany. The Dingwerths noted that the sons of some of their neighbors in Osterkappeln, north of Osnabrueck, had been killed during the Franco-Prussian War, leaving only daughters to manage the farms and property inherited by the family. The burden was simply too great for many of them.

Faced with an only son, Bill, who was coming of age in the 1890's, the Dingwerths corresponded with uncle Bill Duning in Richmond about the prospect of migrating here. Duning assured them that there would be plenty of work and no military conscription. The Dingwerths finally arrived in Richmond at the turn of the century, and young Bill went on to become a General Motors engineer with several automotive inventions to his credit.²⁸

"Der Preusse hat Hanover gestohlen" - 1866

After 1866, with bitter opposition from the Hanoverians, the Kingdom of Hanover was annexed by Prussia under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck had given the King of Hanover, George V, the "choice of allying with Prussia and surrendering part of Hanover's sovereignty or of being treated as an enemy".²⁹ George V left Hanover with his troops, was arrested by Bismarck's men, and the Prussian army immediately occupied the Kingdom. Thereafter, for eighty years, Hanover was simply a province of Prussia.

Given the deep-seated resentment against the Prussians, many of Hanoverians balked at having their sons serve in Bismarck's army. Many did, of course, because they were forced to do so. Other families, with sons of draft age on whom they depended for a living income, left for America.

John Henry Niewoehner was born in Oldendorf near Osnabrueck during the first Prussian annexation of the Kingdom of Hanover between

1806 and 1814. As a young man he had served in the Hanoverian army which helped keep the Kingdom neutral in the struggle between Prussia and Austria for the control of central Europe. In 1866 at the age of fifty-six, Niewoehner witnessed the second invasion and conquest by the hated Prussians. As a consequence, he is remembered for complaining, "*Der Preusse hat Hanover gestohlen.*" (The Prussians stole Hanover.)

While the elder Niewoehner was not fortunate enough to emigrate, seven of his living children did, and all of them came to the Richmond area between 1881 and 1892.

John Frederick Niewoehner, the first son to settle here in 1881, was thoroughly disgusted with the economic plight of small farmers in Hanover at the time. Tenants, wagehands and presumably small land-owners were still at the mercy of the Junkers, the old feudal lords.³⁰ While the economic plight of the family undoubtedly played a major role in the family's migration, it is reasonable to assume that the Niewoehners' anti-Prussianism and reluctance to serve in Bismarck's army was also a factor.

The Catholics and Bismarck

Several of the Catholic informants in the study indicated in no uncertain terms that opposition to military conscription was a prime reason for their forefathers' leaving Hanover for the Richmond area.

Were there factors involved other than long service, low pay and protection of only sons in the Catholic opposition to military conscription?

The fact of the matter is that Catholics throughout Germany were at odds with Otto von Bismarck throughout his career as prime minister (1862- 1888). Bismarck had led Prussia in three wars during the 1860's to unify Germany into one nation. Throughout the 1870's he attempted through various actions to wipe out provincial loyalties. Bismarck also attempted to bring the Catholic Church into line by requiring Catholics to be married by civil officials, and by requiring priests to secure a State university degree before being licensed. He also abolished a section of the government which dealt with Roman Catholic affairs, and at one point expelled all of the Jesuits from Germany.³¹

Now the Catholic Church had a strong base in Bavaria where they constituted the majority and, in self-defense against Bismarck's actions, formed their own political party, the Centre Party (now the CSU). Bismarck saw the new party as a direct threat to his power, and did everything he could to reduce the influence of the Catholics throughout

Germany. His battle with the Church became known as the *Kulturkampf*, literally an attempt by the Prussian Protestant north to weaken the power of Catholic Bavaria. Most Prussians had been Lutherans since the 1500's. As a consequence, the Lutherans along with the Reformed Church, held both the religious and political power in the north.

What bearing these religious factors had on the migration of Catholic families to the Richmond area is not entirely clear. Whether the Stiens, Brokamps, Grothausen, Wessels, Moormans, Waltermanns and a host of other German Catholic families came to this area to escape Prussian oppression is not clear from the family records. Several of them have made it quite clear, however, that resistance to serving under the Prussian military was a factor in their migration.

CHAPTER IV

WHY THE RICHMOND AREA WAS SELECTED AS THE DESTINATION OF 19TH CENTURY IMMIGRANTS

The First Wave of Immigrants, 1830's and 1840's

The first wave of German settlers who came to the Richmond area in the 1830's and 1840's must be seen as part of a much larger movement of English Quakers, Scotch-Irish Protestants, Irish Catholics and north Germans to the valleys of the Whitewater and Great Miami Rivers. Most of them had arrived in Cincinnati before starting their trek north. Some of them had arrived over trails and roads from southeastern Ohio.

It is difficult for us to realize in the latter years of the 20th century that when European immigrants arrived in the Cincinnati area in the early decades of the 19th century, there were no roads into the wilderness to the north. There were no canals, and no railroads to take them to the Indiana frontier. There were waterways. Among them were the East and West Forks of the Whitewater. There were also wagon and Indian trails along some of the rivers and creeks.

It is no accident, therefore, that the earliest settlements in southeastern Indiana were river towns such as Madison and Vevay on the Ohio, and Brookville, Connersville, Cambridge City and Richmond on the upper reaches of the East and West Forks of the Whitewater.

In 1802 the earliest Quaker settlers from North Carolina followed the Great Miami and then the Stillwater Rivers from Cincinnati to a point about twelve miles north of Dayton. The story of their trek through unbroken forest to the Middle Fork River north of Richmond was recounted above. Another group of Quakers, however, left Cincinnati in 1805 along the Great Miami to Hamilton on the Wayne Trace, a rough military road developed by General Mad Anthony Wayne in his military campaign against the Shawnees, Miamis and other Indian tribes in the 1790's. From Hamilton they traveled north to Eaton and then west to Boston and eventually to the Elkhorn and Short Creek areas south of Richmond. Known as the "Kentucky settlement", the families included the Coxes, Rues, Holmans, McCoys, Blunts, Griffins and Smiths. The group included Baptists as well as Quakers, and in 1806, the Cox and

Smith families, among others, established homes in what is now Old Richmond.

The Pull of the Old National Road and "The Bridge" – The Case of John Petersen

John Petersen, later Anglicized to Peterson, was likely a young apprentice stonemason in Astrup, a farm village near Osnabrueck, when he must have heard of the opening (1827) of the new seaport at Bremerhaven, just sixty miles to the north. As mentioned above, a brisk tobacco-passenger trade had begun between Baltimore and Bremerhaven after 1827, with cargo ships bringing Virginia tobacco to Bremerhaven in exchange for north German emigrants who took advantage of the low passage fares to Baltimore. Peterson was one of these emigrants, and like so many of his fellow German emigrants, headed for Pittsburgh or Wheeling and then down the Ohio to Cincinnati.

Peterson was apparently a stonemason in Cincinnati when, in 1834, he heard of the aforementioned need for masons and stonecutters to build abutments for a bridge to span the Whitewater River some sixty miles to the north at a village called Richmond. The clearing for the Old National Road (then Cumberland Road) had been cut through Wayne County in 1828.

Richmond in 1834 was still a wilderness settlement of about 1,000 persons, but the lure of high wages -- \$1.50 a day for good stonecutters -- led Peterson to make the trek to Richmond by foot. Accompanied by his brother-in-law, Fred Schultz, they carried their stone-cutting tools on their backs.³²

By 1834, a stageline was making a Cincinnati to Richmond run, but Peterson and Schultz were either unaware of it, or could not afford the fare.

In a short time, John Peterson and other German stonecutters who followed him from Cincinnati were busy at work cutting and laying the stone for the abutments of the first covered wooden bridge across the Whitewater River at the foot of Main Street. Parts of the stone abutments remain in place today.

Building stone was in great demand for other purposes as well, e.g., mills, homes and public buildings. Fortunately, the west bank of the Gorge contained rich limestone deposits which provided the newly-arrived stonecutters and masons with all of the building material they needed to develop the new town along the Whitewater's East Fork. Peterson operated one of the quarries along the West Bank, as well as a lime kiln and a powder magazine for blasting purposes. How many of

the nearly fifty mills along the Whitewater John Peterson helped construct is not known, but he did supervise the building of the Test Woolen Mill north of Test Road. Parts of the stone foundation of that mill remain today.

In summary, another pull of the Richmond area was the need for skilled stonemasons and cutters and the availability of abundant supplies of limestone for building purposes. Laborers were also needed to construct the Old National Road.

The Pull of Friends, Relatives and Opportunity

John Peterson had arrived in Cincinnati as a young man of eighteen, leaving his family behind in Astrup. Within months after his arrival in Richmond, he was followed by his widowed mother, sister Ellen, several other members of his own family, along with others from Astrup and neighboring villages near Osnabrueck.

So, even in the early 1830's, family connections played a role in the migration of scores of German farmers and craftsmen from the many small villages surrounding Osnabrueck. Coming from a background of grinding poverty, landlessness and oppressive landlord demands, the prospect of earning \$1.50 a day in a free country, among friends and relatives, albeit in the midwestern wilderness, proved to be a powerful magnet.

Whether Christopher Jurgens, Fred Lefke, Christopher Klute and Christopher Shofer followed Peterson at his urging from Cincinnati to Richmond is not clear, but they arrived shortly after he did. They, too, were young single men arriving ahead of their families, hoping to find their fortune in the new land. Within a few years, two other young men followed, Bernhard Knollenberg and David Haner. Both of these young men had earned their passage from Bremerhaven to Baltimore by pooling their family finances, and from wages earned largely in Holland. Haner, apparently, had saved over \$100 from work in Holland to finance his voyage.³³ Bernhard had been a shepherd in Germany. On arrival here he worked on the Platt Robinson place and later as a blacksmith until two years before his death.

In Bernhard Knollenberg's case, brothers David and Henry soon followed him to Richmond, and by 1845 the three sons were able to finance the voyage of the other Knollenberg family members.

While the recorded experiences of the other families are not as detailed as those of the Petersons and Knollenbergs, there is reason to believe that they followed the same pattern.

A young adventurous, often talented, son in his late teens or early twenties took the great risk of sailing the Atlantic to the "promised land" with a few *pfennigs* in his pocket and a willingness to work wherever his talents could be used. Within months enthusiastic letters about the "land of opportunity" reached the villages around Osnabrueck. Before long, brothers, other family members and friends followed. It was no accident, therefore, that over 90 percent of all of the German settlers -- Lutheran and Catholic -- in the Richmond area came from a score of villages clustered around one city in the then Kingdom of Hanover.

The Bennett Baumer Family -- 1833

Little is known about the motivation for the Bennett Baumer family's move to Richmond. They were credited with being the first German family here, having arrived in 1833 from Baltimore. They were also the first Catholic family. Bennett Baumer, Jr., who had stayed behind to work in Baltimore, arrived in the spring of 1834 and immediately found work in the construction of the Old National Road bridge. Originating in Damme, a farming village some twenty miles north of Osnabrueck, the Baumers likely sailed on one of the tobacco cargo boats from Bremerhaven to Baltimore.

Fred Bartel interviewed Bennett Baumer, Jr. in 1900 and reported the family's reason for leaving Germany -- the threat of military conscription -- but gave no reason for their selecting Richmond in 1833 at a time when no families of German extraction lived here except for the Hoovers and Gaars. Bennett Baumer, Sr. was really Dr. Bennett Baumer. Could he have been invited to Richmond by a friend in the medical profession?

The fact remains that for most of the early settlers, the need for workers and craftsmen to build the Old National Road and the bridges over the Whitewater, along with encouraging letters to families and friends left behind in the Kingdom of Hanover, proved to be the "pull" that brought them to Richmond.

How many German settlers were there in Richmond by 1850? We don't have accurate figures, but Bartel observed that the first wave of immigrants increased from year to year during the 1840's, and may be said to have reached its peak in the 1850's.

The influx of immigrants from the Osnabrueck area to Richmond corresponded with the mass migration of 7,000 residents from the county of Osnabrueck between 1832 and 1866. As noted earlier, in the peak year of out-migration (1845), 674 residents left the economically-depressed villages of Linne, Astrup, Schledhausen, Neunkirchen,

Glane, Damme and Osnabrueck city itself for Richmond and other destinations.

The growth of the city's population was relatively slow before 1840, but began to explode in the 1840's and 50's.

TABLE 3

RICHMOND'S POPULATION GROWTH 1818-1850

1818.....	200
1819.....	350
1824.....	453
1826.....	648
1828.....	824
1843.....	1,500
1850.....	3,800

Source: Dr. John D. Plummer, *Directory of City of Richmond, 1857* pp. 27-28.

While we do not have accurate data on the number of Germans in the population prior to 1850, we do know that by 1875 the Census reported that nearly one-third of Richmond's 12,000 citizens were of German background.

Relations Between the English Quakers and the German Settlers

A strange thing happened to the Lutheran and Catholic Germans as they settled among the English Quakers in their midwestern strong hold of Richmond, Indiana. They apparently blended in quite well with the sectarian, pacifist, abolitionist, plain-garbed Quakers. In fact, the Quakers apparently developed considerable respect for their German-speaking neighbors.

How did this happen? Bernhard Knollenberg's historical account of the 1830's and 40's contains a number of clues, some substantiated by historical records, others conjectures on Knollenberg's part. The seven factors listed below are based on Knollenberg's conclusions as well as the author's.

(1) As early as 1838 the newly-arrived John Peterson from Astrup, Germany married Eliza Hunt, daughter of a prominent Quaker family. Quaker-German marriages were unheard of at that time, and this continued to be true for succeeding generations. The Quaker elders protested the coming marriage, but to no avail. One might surmise that the marriage helped break down the barriers that may have existed between the two groups at that time.

(2) One of the patriarchs of the Quaker community at that time was the German-born Andrew Hoover, who was among the original Quaker settlers. Son David was a town official and influential citizen. Their knowledge of German undoubtedly provided a link between the two groups both linguistically and socially.

(3) Knollenberg observed that the German settlers shared the Quaker preference for simplicity in dress and life style. The Quaker dress code, of course, was based on Biblical teachings. For the Germans, simplicity and plainness were a matter of economic necessity. Knollenberg remarked that even the wealthy Quakers and Germans shunned ostentatious life styles. Many of the Hanoverians had lived the severely simple life style of lowly peasants for generations, if not centuries. Their clothes, their property, their personal possessions all spoke of a level of privation of which the relatively-wealthy Richmond Quakers knew nothing. Curiously, for different reasons, and from vastly different backgrounds, the Quakers and the Germans apparently understood each others' simplicity and lack of ostentatious display.

(4) The opposition to military conscription already referred to among both Quakers and Germans was based on different motives -- the Quakers for religious reasons, the Germans for sheer survival. They could not afford to give up their sons to the German princes and kings to fight and die in the endless wars that beset their homeland in the 19th century. At least, in the 1830's and 1840's, the Germans and Quakers shared a common distaste for wars and military service.

(5) Knollenberg made another curious observation concerning the use of alcohol. He stated:

As for whisky or other hard liquor, the Indiana Friends had taken a strong stand against it by

the eighteen thirties, regarding it as the curse of every frontier community. The Germans, unaccustomed to the regular use of hard liquor, readily adopted the Friends' view, finding ample satisfaction in beer, which in those days was still in good standing with members of the Society of Friends.³⁴

The assumption that beer was "still in good standing with members of the Society of Friends" must come as a surprise to many contemporary Quakers.

(6) Two factors not mentioned by Knollenberg in his discussion of Quaker-German compatibility were their common adherence to the "work ethic" and the supply of domestic labor provided by the German settlers. It is a historical fact that many young and single German women worked as live-in maids for Quaker families. Ellen Tuecke, among others, apparently learning of the need for maids among "wealthy Quaker families" in Richmond, left her home in Schleddehausen and made the Atlantic voyage as a young single woman.

Other German women sewed and made clothes for "Quaker millionaires", according to several informants who remember their mothers' grandmothers' assessments of the Quakers in 19th-century Richmond.

The German women then, as well as the men, of course, were a source of cheap labor for the Quakers. Furthermore, imbued with the "work ethic", they were reliable, honest and thorough workers, whether skilled or unskilled.

Work Ethic as Major Reason for Harmony

(7) Both the Quakers and the German settlers were prime exemplars of the "work ethic". This included the belief that one should give an honest day's work for one's pay; that one does one's work thoroughly and as perfectly as possible. While the English Quakers were apparently not craftsmen in stone or wood, they soon developed a high regard for the craftsmanship the new German settlers brought the city.

One of the earliest interpreters of the "work ethic", renowned sociologist Max Weber, observed that the accumulation of wealth and property was seen as a legitimate Christian goal. Weber, born in Erfurt, Germany, in 1864, and educated at the Universities of Heidelberg and Goettingen, regarded Benjamin Franklin, a nominal Quaker, as one of



Original St. John's Lutheran Church after renovation (1853).
Rev. Henry Wickemeyer family in front of parsonage.

the most eloquent spokesmen for the "work ethic", or the "Protestant ethic" as he termed it. Weber quoted this passage from Franklin:

Remember, that time is money....
Remember, that credit is money.
The most trifling actions that affect
a man's credit are to be regarded.
The sound of your hammer at five
in the morning makes him easy six
months longer, but if he sees you at
the billiard table, or hears your voice
in a tavern, when you should be at work,
he sends for his money the next day.³⁵

John Wesley, a contemporary of Weber's, put one aspect of the "work ethic" this way: "Earn all you can, save all you can, and give all you can to the Lord."

To this the English Quakers and German settlers gave their hearty approval.

This common adherence to the "work ethic", and the mutual respect that developed from it, was, in the writer's judgment, the most important factor in promoting a sense of mutual respect between the English-speaking and German-speaking citizens.

St. John's Lutheran Church Founded 1844³⁶

An account of the first generation of German settlers would not be complete without reference to the two earliest congregations founded by them in the 1840's -- St. John's Lutheran in 1844; St. Andrew Catholic in 1846.

When the families of John Peterson, Christopher Jurgens, Fred Lefke, Christopher Klute and Christopher Shofer arrived in 1833 and 1834, the nearest Lutheran Church founded in 1822 was at East Germantown, some twelve miles to the west.

Without a pastor or a church building, the newcomers met in the Peterson home at South Fourth and "B" Streets. The budding congregation was served by itinerant ministers until the Rev. John C. Schultze of East Germantown was called to the pastorate on December 1, 1844. The Rev. Schultze, by the way, had come to the Indiana wilderness from the Mission School in Berlin, Germany. He, like the other German migrants who settled in the western part of Wayne County during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, followed the West Fork of

the Whitewater from Brookville to Milton, Cambridge City and Hagerstown.

The congregation met briefly in the old First Ward School on South Fourth (then Front Street), but by 1846 they had raised the necessary \$725 to buy the land for a modest house of worship in the 300 block of South Fourth Street. John H. Eggemeyer was the contractor. While the small 31' x 42' church was a simple one without buttresses, vestibule or tower, the construction itself was a major accomplishment for the small band of immigrants, many of whom had arrived penniless or with meager resources just a decade earlier. The St. John's Church histories observed that the furnishings were primitive. A store box draped in black served as an altar. The pews were boards fastened to logs, while the lighting system consisted of homemade tallow candles.

By 1853, the congregation had employed Diedrich Meyer and F. Veregge to build a second story to the existing church. On completion, the Parish school or *Gemeinde Schule* occupied the first floor while the upper story became the sanctuary.

Actually, the *Gemeinde Schule* consisting of the first six grades had been founded several years earlier, and remained an important part of St. John's parish until 1934.

Language Becomes Issue at St. John's

The exclusive use of the German language in worship services finally became an issue in the early 1890's during the pastorate of Rev. Henry Wickemeyer. German-born and trained at the Mission School in Hermannsburg north of Hannover, he was unable to use the English language fluently enough to satisfy the growing demand among the younger members for English services. The conflict was finally resolved in 1892 when the English-speaking members were granted permission to form a new congregation, Trinity Lutheran, now located at 2300 West Main Street.

The language controversy continued at St. John's for a number of years, but it was not until 1915 that Sunday morning services were first

* Western Wayne County was settled several decades earlier than the eastern sector due, in large part, to the existence of Indian trails from the Ohio River through Brookville and then along the West Fork of the Whitewater through Connersville, East Germantown, Hagerstown and eventually to Detroit. Compared with the East Fork, the West Fork was apparently more navigable and the terrain more level.

conducted in English as part of a dual service -- English at 8:30 and German at 10:30. It was 1943 before German services were dropped entirely.

Referring to the reluctance of many foreign-speaking immigrants to give up their mother tongue, Father Gorman, the St. Andrew historian, made the following observation: "It may be remarked that the Germans who composed such a large percentage of the Catholic immigration into southern Indiana were so tenacious in holding on to their customs and language because it was thought that the preservation of their faith depended somewhat on the use of the German tongue in the churches and schools."³⁷ This likely explains the tenacity with which many St. John's members held on to the German language, even through church division and loss of membership.

It might be noted here that the Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania still conduct their services in German after seven generations of settlement in America. For them the mother tongue is part of a sacred tradition.

From all accounts, the St. John's Lutheran parish was not only a congregation, but also a closely-knit community united by church, school, language, a mutual benefit association and residence. The members, for the most part, lived around the original Church on South Fourth Street.

The "South-end Dutch" who settled in what has become Old Richmond were a true ethnic neighborhood of several hundred *Platt Deutsch*-speaking Hanoverians surrounded by a larger English-speaking community of several thousands by the late 1840's.

Platt Deutsch is a German language or dialect that was in wide usage in north Germany prior to Luther's translation of the Bible into High German in 1534. After that time, High German became the standard language of northern Germany. Despite this fact, Low German continues to be spoken by the common people in the Osnabrueck area.

Almost all of the Hanoverian settlers in the Richmond area between 1833 and 1933 used Low German as their mother tongue. (See Fig. 3)

The author's own Pennsylvania-German dialect derived from the Rhineland-Palatinate in southwest Germany bears some resemblance to the *Platt Deutsch*, but speakers using the two dialects would have difficulty understanding each other. On the other hand the Richmond Quakers in the 19th century must have been totally unable to communicate with their new *Platt Deutsch*-speaking neighbors without a translator present.

A perusal of *Naturalization Records* in the Wayne County Court-house from 1845 to the present reveals that County Clerks regularly misspelled German family and place names because of the language barrier.

There are only two Bibles in the Low German dialect known to exist -- one in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and the other in Boerne, Texas. While the Boerne Bible was discovered several years ago, no one was able to decipher the strange language in which it was written until the Nordsieck sisters of Richmond -- Marie, Helen and Henriette, identified the language as *Platt Deutsch* in 1988. The Nordsiecks are among the few German-speaking residents who still understand the mother tongue of their ancestors. Another is Frank Arkenberg, native of Damme near Osnabrueck, who did not arrive in Richmond until 1928. The fact that *Platt Deutsch* was still spoken in his home in the early years of this century attests to its longevity as the *Sprache* of the common people of north Germany.

FIGURE 3

EXAMPLES OF PLATT DEUTSCH WORDS*

An-on (Ed. - wearing or carrying)		
Unnerbuxen-underpants	Buxen-pants	Strumpt-stockings
Heimpt-shirt	Buxdraeigae-suspenders	Hoot-hat
Handook-towel	Karsen-candles	Nachtheimd-nightshirt
Hansken-gloves	Snaeistoofel-snowboots	Vulrock-wool coat
Knabel-hardtack	Taskendook-handkerchief	Kautoback-chewing tobacco
Bautel-bag	Talge-tallow	Issnaodel-iron needle
Raenseel-satchel		
Krusifix-crucifix	Rosenkrantz-rosary	Biecker-drinking cup
Baeidbook-prayerbook	Buddel Wiehwater-bottle of holy water	Meese-salve, cream
Doeoepschein-baptismal certificate	Sepe-soap	Handook-hand towel
Kuffer-trunk		
Boeke-books	Koeefall-cow hide	Reimer-strap
Spaegel-mirror	Ladderriemer-strap, belt	Huwwe-hood
Bedlaken-bed linen	Holthammer-mallet	Tachnagel-tacks
Root-lamp black	Schreere-scissors	Prussentiele-_____file
Enkert in Buddel mit Proffen-ink in bottle with stopper	Saigellachs-sealing wax	Saigel-seal
	Knieptange-pliers	Bindfaden-twine

* From Luke B. Knapke. *Liwwaet Boeke: 1807-1882, Pioneer*. Minster: Historical Society, 1987. By permission of the author.

Kuffer-trunk	Geschirr-silver & dishes	Heimden-shirts
Pottdecke-pot cover	Emmer-bucket, pail	Kieddel-kettle
Leppel-spoon	Medzin-medicine	Poeel-feather tick
Mess-knife	Bedlaken-bed linens	Schott-apron
Bettdecke-blankets	Teller-plate	Heimpten-shirts
Kussen-pillows	Lappen-cloths	Strumpten-stockings
Handooken-towels		
Puch-pouch	Spek-bacon	Schoh-shoes
Sucher-sugar	Fleisk-meat	Riis-rice
Maeihl-flour	Braut-bread	Bauhen-beans
Gruessen-groats	Druggappeln-dried apples	Suermoose-sauerkraut
Soalt-salt	Swaogel-cracklings	Hannig-honey
Kakaowaeffe-chocolate wafers		
Tuwelken-potatoes	Wempt-	Schamiesken-half petticoat
Rook-coat	Fett-lard	Buoewerbett-bed spread
	Koeaerpin-pin for closing clothes	Krawaettene-scarves

St. Andrew Catholic Church Founded 1846

While several Catholic families had reached Richmond from Damme, north of Osnabrueck, by 1833, it was not until the following year that Rev. Simon Lalumiere, a missionary priest from Vincennes, celebrated mass in the home of Charles Bouchie at 29 South Fifth Street. Father Lalumiere had found his way on horseback from Vincennes along river trails to Columbus, Shelbyville, Rush County and finally Abington where several Irish Catholic families lived. They told him of the newly-arrived German Catholic families in Richmond. After his visit here he wrote:

In Richmond, a large and beautiful town, where a priest and school might do much good, I found several Catholics. Many approached the Holy Communion, the divine and adorable sacrifice being offered up in a private house. At the request of several gentlemen, I preached in a school-house, on the groundless prejudices that are entertained against our holy religion.³⁸

By 1835, Richmond, in the northern reaches of the Vincennes diocese, was accessible to the missionary priests only in the spring and fall of the year. Father Joseph Ferneding of Oldenberg, Germany, possibly the most influential priest among Indiana's early immigrants, served as the missionary for the new diocese and by 1835 had been



St. Andrew Catholic Church

St. Andrew Catholic Church, constructed in 1901 after fire destroyed original St. Andrew in 1900.

invited to Richmond by John Henry Moorman, a newly-arrived immigrant also from the Kingdom of Hanover. Rev. Ferneding found fourteen families here, and during his semi-annual visits conducted mass in the homes of Charles Bouchie, two O'Hara families and Joseph Brokamp. While there were a few Irish families here, the majority were Germans from Hanover, so services were conducted in the German language.

During the decade from 1835 to 1845, Father Ferneding and other mission priests seemed to be preoccupied with the rapidly-growing settlements, both Irish and German, in the southern reaches of the Whitewater valley, along the Ohio River and the newly-developed road from Lawrenceburg to Indianapolis.

In the meantime, the Richmond area Catholics were without a full-time pastor until 1945 when Father Vincent Bacquelin was assigned to the parish. By 1846 a modest church was built in the 500 block of South Fifth Street under the leadership of Moorman and Brokamp, along with Peter Schindler and John and Thomas O'Hara. Christian Schwegman was also one of the early Parish leaders.

Dr. Gorman wrote in 1946 that "The first church of St. Andrew was not unlike the Friends meetinghouses, a plain structure...no tower and presumably, no bell".³⁹ The only feature that apparently distinguished it from a Quaker meetinghouse was a small wooden cross on the apex of the roof.

The presence of a newly-built Catholic Church was accepted by the largely-Protestant community. Quakers and other Protestants, in fact, contributed to the building fund. Dr. Gorman also observed that German Catholics, as well as the newly-arrived Lutherans, shared with the Quakers a mutual repugnance to war and ostentation, to lawyers and hard liquor.

There were, of course, some Protestants in the community who took a strong anti-Catholic position. After 1852 their views were strengthened by the newly-formed Know-Nothing Party. The Know-Nothings opposed immigration and fought against the appointment of foreigners, especially Catholics, to official positions. They, of course, opposed the establishment of the Catholic Church in Richmond and elsewhere throughout the land.

* Mr. and Mrs. Schwegman, Bernard Brokamp, and nine other St. Andrew members were victims of the tragic cholera epidemic which swept the area in 1849; St. John's lost twenty-four members.

St. Andrew parish grew rather rapidly from some twenty families in 1847 to nearly 230 in 1878. The fastest growth occurred in the 1850's when Richmond itself was receiving immigrants at an increasing rate, leaping from 3,800 in 1853 to 6,126 by 1857. All the while, St. Andrew remained a largely German-speaking parish with a scattering of Irish families. By 1853, the pew list included fifty-five German families compared with only five Irish ones. Most of the Irish immigrants to the Whitewater valley were canal builders who settled in the counties to the south and southwest of Wayne.

Language Becomes an Issue at St. Andrew

Despite the preponderance of German families, a new English-speaking Irish priest, Father Joseph Ryan, was assigned to the Richmond parish in 1847 by the bishop in faraway Vincennes. Didn't the bishop know that the new parish needed a bilingual priest, or did he assume that language was unimportant? Whatever his motives, the German-speaking majority here didn't appreciate their Irish priest, and within two years he was replaced by the bilingual Father William Doyle. After Father Doyle left in 1853, he was replaced by a series of German-speaking pastors who, as one might expect, alienated the English-speaking Irish Catholics.

The matter came to a head in 1859 when the English-speaking faction formed a new parish, St. Mary's, on North A Street, in a recently-erected building abandoned by the English Lutherans.

With the English-speaking faction gone, the almost exclusively German-speaking St. Andrew parish continued the use of German in services until 1907, when like their St. John's Lutheran neighbors, they alternated German and English at each Sunday mass. It wasn't until the 1920's that English was used exclusively.

In the 1850's, St. Andrew was developing from a small congregation to a tightly-knit community, not unlike St. John's Lutheran just a few blocks away. A parochial school had been established, and by the end of the decade, the "German Roman Catholic St. Joseph's Benevolent Association" had been formed. The rapid growth of Saint Andrew in the 1850's also marked the transition from the simple church built in 1846 to a larger edifice, a plain Gothic church, 60' x 120', on the same location in 1860. The building committee for the new church consisted of:

Rev. J. B. H. Seepe (from Bersenbruck, Kingdom of Hanover);
H. H. Geers, gentlemen;

John B. Stiens, tailor;
Gerhard Grothaus, cabinetmaker;
John Henry Moorman, merchant;
Herman Temmelmann, blacksmith.

Speaking of the establishment of the three original German-speaking churches, the *National Register of Historic Places* had this to say in 1974:

The Germans built three churches which formed for them social and economic centers.

(1) St. Andrew Catholic Church (1846) -- German Catholic church and school system;

(2) St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church (1857) -- a merger of Lutheran dissidents and German Methodists;

(3) St. John's Lutheran Church and Academy (1846-54) -- largest of all German institutions, possessed a high quality secondary school as part of church operations.

CHAPTER V

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE

1850-1900

Speaking of the migration of German settlers to the Richmond area, Bartel observed that:

This wave of immigration to Richmond increased from year to year during the "forties", and may have been said to have reached its height about the middle of this century--1850. The great majority of the Germans who have come to Richmond, arrived before the Civil War and of late years especially, a newly arrived German is seldom seen.⁴⁰

Since the 1850's were a decade of rapid growth for Richmond, leaping from 3,800 in 1853 to 6,126 by 1857, an explanation is necessary.

The Industrial Revolution Reaches Richmond

There were "push" factors, of course. The potato famine of the late 1840's combined with an economic depression had driven hundreds of thousands of Irish, German and other northern European farmers and workers to America. The failure of the 1848 revolt against the autocratic Old Guard in Germany led to the flight of thousands more. By the 1850's, some hundreds of these refugees from famine and political turmoil had arrived in the Richmond area. Why did the Germans and Irish choose Richmond in the 1850's? In a word, the Industrial Revolution which swept across America in the latter half of the 19th century was having its impact on Wayne County.

While the decade of the forties saw the rise and fall of the Richmond-Brookville canal, the decade of the fifties saw the birth of the railroads. Richmond became a busy hub for railroads under construction between Dayton and Indianapolis, Chicago and Cincinnati, as well as Richmond and Ft. Wayne.

In addition, turnpikes were under construction in all directions from Richmond in the latter 1840's and throughout the 1850's.

The Old National Road was now a county turnpike controlled by the Wayne County Turnpike Company. Workers were needed to maintain and extend the new turnpike westward. Others, including many recently-arrived German and Irish immigrants, were employed building the Williamsburg, Newport, Boston, Liberty and Middleboro turnpikes. Dr. John T. Plummer reported that by 1857 as many as 700 wagons a week were passing through Richmond carrying pioneer families in their westward quest for unclaimed land.⁴¹

The 1850's, then, must have been a decade of tremendous activity in the Richmond area, with bridge and road builders and railway laborers working feverishly to lay the foundation for the industrialization of Richmond in the coming decades. Why was Richmond becoming a major transportation hub?

Richmond Becomes a Transportation Hub

Richmond's role as a transportation hub in the 1850's stemmed, in part, from the productiveness of the farms in the area, and from the production of flour, wool and lumber at the fifty or so mills along the East Fork of the Whitewater, which flowed directly through Richmond.

In 1847 alone, Wayne County orchards produced 20,000 bushels of apples for shipment to Cincinnati, and 25,000 hogs had been driven yearly along country roads to Cincinnati. At least 35,000 barrels of surplus flour produced by the river mills in 1847 needed a more reliable and cheaper means of getting to market. The farms generally were producing two to three times more crops than the local area needed.⁴²

Another reason for Richmond's growing importance as a transportation and industrial center was the fact that the eastern markets were opening up to midwestern products. So the east-west railroad, which eventually became the Pennsylvania Railroad from Philadelphia to St. Louis, became a major transportation route. Gaar, Scott & Co. and Swain Robinson Co. were needing railways to export their products.

At the same time, Cincinnati, with over 115,000 population in 1850, was the major industrial and transportation center in the midwest and was also the largest consumer of Wayne County's surplus products. Consequently, a north-south rail route connecting Richmond with Cincinnati for quicker and cheaper transportation was given priority.

A few decades earlier the towns to the west and south of Richmond along the Whitewater's West Fork had been the major centers of activity, but with the virtual abandonment of the rivers, creeks and



The Abram Gaar Family

Front row, from left: Fannie Gaar, Ruby Strattan, Agnes Gaar, Mildred Gaar, Abram Gaar, Agnes Gaar, Russel Gaar, Lucille Gaar (Hill), Mrs. Ransom, Alice Gaar; back row, from left: O. L. Gaar, Clem Gaar, Mae Gaar, Sam Gaar and Steve Straton.

canals as major forms of transportation, Richmond became the seat of power. Much to the chagrin of the Centerville citizens, the shift of power was finally accomplished in 1873 when the county seat was moved from that town to Richmond.

Early Entrepreneurs - The Gaar Family ⁴³

In 1900, Fred Bartel observed that many first and second-generation German settlers did not think it possible for a German immigrant to enter the commercial world or become anything but a common laborer. After all, most of them had been lowly farm workers with no opportunity to develop whatever skills they may have had. On the American frontier, however, where the only traits that mattered were hard work, ingenuity, individual effort and a bit of cooperation with one's neighbors, the "sky was the limit". By 1900 Germans were represented in every line of business. The three largest "dry goods houses" and the two "wholesale notion houses" were owned by families of German extraction who had arrived in poverty a generation earlier. Among them were Adam H. Bartel and George Knollenberg.

By 1900, in fact, Fred Bartel noted that thirty-eight percent of all businesses were owned by German settlers at a time when they constituted only thirty percent of the population. Among the businesses were several key industries such as Gaar, Scott and Co. which developed into the second largest threshing machine factory in the United States. The firm had actually been making farm machinery as early as the 1840's when Jonas Gaar, machinist, his sons Abram Gaar, carpenter and millwright, and J. M. Gaar, machinist, and son-in-law, Wm. G. Scott, molder, produced the first thresher ever built in Indiana. By 1849 the firm became A. Gaar and Co., and in 1870, Gaar, Scott and Co. with Abram Gaar still at the helm. By the early 1900's over 600 employees were still making threshers and steam engines for an international market from Canada to Russia. Gaar, Scott products won first place awards from the U.S. Agricultural Society, and the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, in addition to numerous blue ribbon awards for the quality of threshers at state fairs. Who were these industrial pioneers? Where did the Gaars originate?

Unlike so many of Richmond's German pioneers, the Gaars were of Bavarian origin, from the picturesque area around Dinkelsbühl, Bavaria. Bavaria has been a historically Catholic region of Germany, and the Gaars, with their Lutheran affiliation, did not find their religion tolerated by the rather militant Catholic princes in the early 1700's. Given the choice of accepting Catholicism or fleeing their homeland,

the Gaars fled to an area just west of the Rhine River known then as the Bavarian Palatinate. Presumably in the vicinity of Karlsruhe or Mannheim they met other Protestants who had fled religious persecution in France a generation earlier. Many French Huguenots (Reformed), including the author's forbears, also sought the Bavarian Palatinate around Mannheim for refuge.

Unfortunately, the Bavarian Palatinate, along with the other area west of the Rhine, had been devastated by repeated French invasions in the early 1700's. The Gaars appear to have been farmers, as were the author's forbears, the Royers. There was no stability and no future for them there.

The word had been spread by the Rhineland Mennonites that the Quakers of Philadelphia had been inviting German farmers to settle the fertile farmlands to the west of Philadelphia in what is now known as "Pennsylvania-Dutch Country". The first German Mennonites had arrived there in 1683 at William Penn's invitation. Consequently, in the 1730's boatloads of impoverished Palatine farm families responded to the invitation, sailed down the Rhine to Rotterdam and then to Philadelphia and Germantown, the port of entry for German immigrants just north of the city. Some stayed there, of course, but the majority of them migrated to the fertile farmlands to the west. Among them were German Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, Brethren and Amish.

The Gaars and the author's forbears headed for Lancaster county just sixty miles west of Philadelphia. Most of the settlers found the rich limestone soil in the Lancaster area to their liking and stayed. Even today, many of them speak a dialect derived from the Palatine German they had learned over eight generations earlier. The Gaars, however, decided to move to Madison County, Virginia, where their opposition to slavery led them to make the trek westward down the Ohio and finally to the northern part of Kentucky.

In 1807 they moved to Indiana and settled in Boston Township, where the father of the clan at that time, Abraham Gaar, built a log cabin. Later his son, Larkin Gaar, built a substantial home for his family on what is now the Klemperer farm, several miles south of Richmond. By 1820, however, Jonas Gaar, Larkin's brother, moved to town and built his family a home on the corner of South Fourth and D Streets, opposite what is now known as Cutter's Corner. Jonas was a cabinetmaker like many of his fellow countrymen who had moved to Richmond in the 19th century, and in time he opened a cabinet shop on Main Street.

Within a decade the Gaars, who had apparently relied mainly on farming for a livelihood ever since their beginnings in Germany, had

applied their inventive craft and mechanical skills to the creation of Indiana's first thresher. The A. Gaar and Co. which emerged in 1849 was headed by Abram Gaar, son of Jonas, and possibly the most influential industrialist in Richmond during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The elegant Abram Gaar home on Pleasant View Road, with its Renaissance-style architecture, was considered one of the finest homes in the state at the time of its construction in 1877. It is now listed in the National Registry of Historic Places, and is still owned by Abram Gaar's great granddaughter, Joanna Hill Mikesell.

The saga of the Gaar family illustrates a point being made throughout this book: the transformation of German immigrants from lowly peasants hampered by poverty and a rigid class system in Germany to successful, inventive entrepreneurs in the new land of opportunity where individual effort was rewarded regardless of one's station in life.

Richmond's Businesses and Professions--1881

One of the remarkable aspects of Richmond's share of the Industrial Revolution which swept across America in the latter half of the 19th century was the diversity of its businesses and industries. Urquhart's *Directory of Businesses* listed over 220 various businesses, factories, and professional offices in 1881. Listed below are those with ten or more establishments.

TABLE 4

SELECTED BUSINESS ENTERPRISES-1881

Attorneys at law	45	Hotels	11
Barber shops	15	Insurance Agents	22
Blacksmith shops	12	Loan agents	13
Boarding houses	32	Meat markets	11
Boots and shoes	17	Music teachers	19
Carpenters and		Notaries Public	46
builders	14	Painters	15
Dressmakers	27	Physicians	36
Gent's furnishing		Saloons	29
goods	14	Stoves, tinware	
Groceries (retail)	64	etc.	11

Source: *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate Publishing Company, 1884), 94.

What is most noticeable about Urquhart's 1881 *Directory* was the decline of the number of mills along the Whitewater Gorge. By 1881 there were only seven flour mills, down from twenty-two in 1857; three linseed oil mills, one paper mill, one saw mill instead of twenty-four, and two woolen mills.

The following pages will deal with one of the wholesalers in notions, fancy goods, etc., the Adam H. Bartel Co.; one of the sixty-four retail grocers, the Cutter store at South Fourth and D Streets; the early years of the Wernle Children's Home; the German wood craftsmen who played a major role in making the Starr piano one of the best-crafted in the industry, and Adolph Blickwedel's saloon.

Adam H. Bartel and the Bartel Family⁴⁴

In 1854 when widowed Clamour Bartel, his second wife Elizabeth (Tuecke) and their five children left the *Bauerndorf* of Astrup just east of Osnabrueck for the Indiana "wilderness", little did they know of the hardships facing them.

What they did know was that the life of a farm family in mid-19th century Hanover meant extreme poverty with little hope for a better future. While Clamour's skills included making spinning wheels for linen weaving, income from this source was meager. They also knew that their friends and relatives, the Petersons, Knollenbergs and Erks who had left Astrup in the 1830's and 1840's for Richmond would be there to help them get settled. The Erks had written in glowing terms about the land of opportunity across the sea.

Accordingly, in 1854, the family sold all their belongings, and boarded the train for Bremerhaven, the port city just sixty miles to the north for the voyage to Baltimore. The Bartels with their six children (four from a previous marriage), ranging in ages from four to sixteen, endured the sea voyage of nine weeks under what must have been the most primitive conditions. The four-year-old, by the way, was Adam H., the only son of Clamour and Elizabeth. On arrival in Richmond, after a long train ride from Baltimore, they were met at the station by (aunt) Tante Erk, Elizabeth's sister. It seems that Tante Erk and others welcomed many German immigrant families at the station, sometimes with food or other necessities for the usually penniless and possessionless arrivals.

What does a penniless, possessionless immigrant family do on arrival? This one moved in briefly with their nearest of kin, the Erks, on their farm north of town. Soon, the eight Bartels moved to their own one-room flat, using their trunks as furniture.

Spinning wheel craftsmen were not needed anymore in Astrup, and they were obviously not needed in Richmond. Farmhands were paid little. So Clamour and the oldest sons went to work to help make Richmond the transportation hub which it became in the 1850's. They apparently worked on improvements to the heavily-traveled National Road bridge over the Gorge, and possibly on the Road itself.

Henry, now about ten, sold pastries at the railroad station, and Katherine, now about fifteen, worked as a maid for the wealthy Starr family for the unbelievable wage of seventy-five cents weekly. Together with other family members they made a meager living, but there were still too many mouths to feed, and there was not enough space for eight bodies. So, Adam H., the youngest, was sent to live with *Tante Erk*.

In the meantime, the family saved enough money to buy a parcel of land on South Tenth Street. There they built their first home in America.

Adam H. filled several needs for the Erks. They were childless, so he became a surrogate son for them, and also helped with the many farm chores. In 1864, at age 14, he left school to work for Emswiler and Crocker, notions' wholesalers, replacing George Knollenberg who bought his own small retail store. Feeling the need for more schooling, young Bartel attended business school in Cincinnati. After seven years, Adam H. went to work as a salesman for Knollenberg's. There he found his future wife, Mathilda, George Knollenberg's sister. Adam, now a married man, had plans and ambitions of his own. He was not about to remain a clerk all of his life, so at 27 he returned to Emswiler and Crocker, bought out the majority partner, and changed the name to Adam H. Bartel Co.

From a fledgling store at 210 Fort Wayne Avenue in 1877, with one wagon peddling dry goods and notions to towns in Wayne and adjoining counties, the firm has grown to one with 78 salesmen and other employees selling to stores all over Indiana and eleven other states with annual sales of \$13,000,000.

Like the Knollenberg store and other early Richmond enterprises, the Bartel Co. was, and continues to be, a family enterprise. Son Fred succeeded Adam H. as president on his death in 1942.

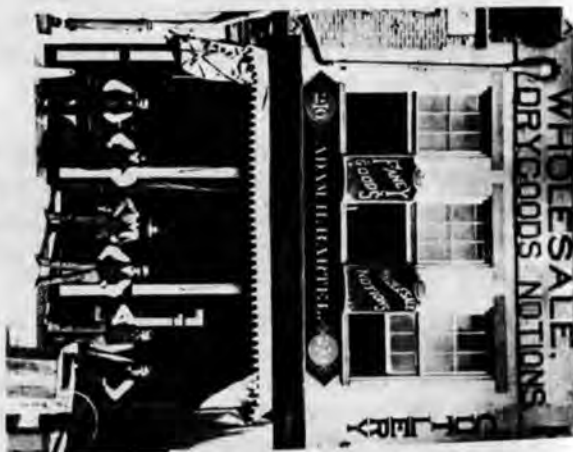
In addition, fifteen family members have served either as officers or board members through the years, including granddaughter Ellen who currently edits the Company newspaper, *The Lantern*.



ADAM H. BARTEL

1850 - 1942

Founder & President of
Adam H. Bartel Co.
1877-1942



Adam H. Bartel's first store, a rented location at 210 Fort Wayne Ave. where the business was carried on from the time the Bartel & Schaefer partnership was dissolved until 1886. Pictured are Elbert McClure, Robert Maxwell,

Adam Bartel, John Leive and Thomas Hawekotte.



FRED BARTEL

1878 - 1972

In 1900 Fred Bartel authored the pioneer study of Richmond settlers from the Osnabruck area.

Bartel succeeded his father as President of Adam H. Bartel Co. in 1942.



"Cutter's Corner"
Site of Henry Cutter store established 1867. Located in the heart of the old "South-end Dutch" neighborhood. Former Cutter tavern adjoins store. Cutters originated in Melle. Henry Cutter arrived as young man from Melle in 1858.

By the 1870's, Adam and Mathilda had built a spacious home near the corner of 16th and South A Streets where the extended family gathered for dinner every Sunday after church services. Ellen Bartel Klemperer remembers those occasions vividly. Three generations of the family would gather around the table, waiting for Grandfather Adam to take his place at the head. Whereupon, with all still standing, he led them in prayer--often in German. It was a *gemutlich* but formal occasion, with starched white napkins and white tablecloth.

Granddaughter Ellen remembers him as a handsome and kind authoritarian, who led his family with a firm but gentle hand.

It was no accident that his son Fred, who served as president of the firm after his father's death, was also the author of the only in-depth study of the 19th century German settlers in the Richmond area. His father, Adam, in addition to being an astute businessman, was also a keen student of history, especially of his family's Hanoverian roots. Adam did his best to pass on an appreciation of the best in German culture to his children and grandchildren. He traveled to Hanover to explore his roots, as well as to the other German provinces, the British Isles, France and Egypt. He was always curious about other cultures, especially their art and their history, and made a collection of the finer regional oil paintings.

While the Bartels were initially active members of the St. John's Lutheran congregation with its strong Germaic heritage, later they helped found the First English Lutheran Congregation after realizing the need to adapt to the English-speaking society which dominated Richmond, then as now.

While Adam Bartel was known as one of Richmond's most successful entrepreneurs during his lifetime, he was also a community leader, helping found the YMCA, was an early supporter of Townsend Community Center and served on the boards of Reid Memorial Hospital and the Second National Bank.

Henry Cutter and the Grocery on "Cutter's Corner"⁴⁵

When Henry Cutter, a teenager, arrived in Richmond in 1854 from Osnabrueck, it is not clear whether he was sent ahead by his family to escape the threat of military conscription and the prospect of war with Prussia to the east, or whether he came with his mother who depended on Henry for her support. He was an only son. We also know that thousands of Hanoverian farm families sent their teenage sons to America for military as well as economic reasons. The family usually followed. Poor families could not afford to lose their sons, especially

only sons, to the endless wars that beset Germany in the nineteenth century. These were wars in which the peasants had little or no personal stake; wars fought for the control of Europe by the super powers of Europe in which the peasants were pawns.

Whatever the facts were in Henry Cutter's case, it is known that military conscription and the possible loss of his earnings to the family played a major role in his emigration to the States. America, of course, had become the "promised land", and there were already hundreds of friends from the Osnabrueck area already in Richmond. Richmond's south-end was, in fact, becoming a colony of Osnabrueckers.

Henry arrived on foot from Cincinnati, stopping at farms along the way to earn a few dollars. One of his last stops was at a Fairhaven, Ohio farm, twenty miles south of Richmond. On arrival here, with the help of his Osnabrueck friends, he found a home and then work at Wiggins Tannery on First Street near National Road.

By 1867, Henry with his father-in-law's help, had accumulated enough savings to buy a store on the corner of Fourth and South D Streets. By the early 1900's, the location became known as "Cutter's Corner", a name familiar to Richmond citizens in the latter years of the 20th century as it was over a hundred years ago.

"Cutter's Corner" was more than a grocery store. Located in the heart of the "South-end Dutch" neighborhood, it became a neighborhood meeting place for customers who shared neighborhood gossip and current news. Neighborhood youths used The Corner and surrounding streets for fun and games.

When a new immigrant family arrived at the southside C. and O. station or possibly at the newly-opened one on North E Street, they were directed to "Cutter's Corner" where Henry supplied them with groceries on credit until they could establish themselves. There were many newly-arrived immigrant families on Cutter's books in those days, but there was a mutual trust in each other's word. Hardly any defaulted on their debts.

"Cutter's Corner" also became a sort of social agency. Henry was not only a source of food and financial aid during the period of adjustment to the new life here, but he also became the new settlers' adviser

* Gustavus Meyer and his teenaged brothers were brought to America by their parents in 1858 from Lemförde, north of Osnabrueck, also to escape military conscription. Gustavus Meyer was the grandfather of current Richmond resident Miriam Erk.

on where to find work, where to register for citizenship, where to vote, and where to find help in emergencies. Many a newly-arrived immigrant found work at Starr Piano, Swayne Robinson, Gaar, Scott, and Adam H. Bartel's with Cutter's help. In the early days of the telephone, there was only one in the neighborhood -- at Cutter's Corner. So the new immigrant often relied on that phone to make his employer contacts.

New attorneys in town needing detailed information on "South-end Dutch" in drawing up deeds and other legal forms came to Cutter for precise information. After a generation in the south-end, Henry had come to know the families and their histories.

By the time "Cutter's Corner" had become established as an institution in the south-end, Henry also emerged as a community leader. Not only did he hold almost every office at St. John's Lutheran Church at one time or another, but also helped bring Wernle Home to Richmond in 1879, on whose Board he served for many years. Wernle Home is still thriving in the last decade of the 20th century.

Cutter also became one of the first German-Americans to serve on City Council between 1885 and 1891. His grandson, Roland "Doc" Cutter, served as mayor of Richmond between 1956 and 1964.

On his retirement from the store in 1909, Henry's son George became the owner and remained so until his death in 1946. George, in a sense, followed in his father's footsteps by becoming the treasurer of Wernle Home and officer of the Citizen's Mutual Fire Insurance Co. Unlike his father, George became an active member of First English Lutheran Church.

There were sixty-four groceries in Richmond in 1881, and possibly more by the 1920's, but Ed Kaeuper reported that working at Cutter's during the summertime was the hope of almost every boy in the neighborhood.

German Saloons In Richmond's South End

In his 1900 study of Richmond's German population, Fred Bartel devoted several pages to their social life. After having noted numerous lodges, including one secret order composed entirely of German-Americans, and after having cited several German singing societies for their contribution to the community, Bartel, with some ambivalence, cites the many southside saloons operated by the settlers.

But I must not neglect to speak of the one other social club, which has so many German

members. It does seem that wherever the German may locate, he must have his saloon, and Richmond has been no exception. I will not dwell on the evils of intemperance, but will simply say that at present, fully two-thirds of the saloons of Richmond are owned by Germans. It cannot be denied that the Germans have greatly increased the liquor traffic in Richmond.⁴⁶

Fred Bartel was evidently one of the Lutherans influenced by the temperance movement in the 1870's. The majority of German-Americans in Richmond, however, did not join the temperance crusade.

As early as 1881, according to Urquhart's *Directory of Businesses*, there were 29 saloons in the city. Richmond's population almost doubled between 1875 and 1900 (from over 11,000 to 20,000), so one might assume that the number of saloons had also increased. In any event, the tavern played an important part in the life of the men of the community. Women were barred from them in the period before World War I.

The earliest taverns, of course, were owned by persons of English or Scotch-Irish descent since they predated the German migration to Richmond. By 1824 there were already "three large and respectable taverns" according to *The Public Leger*, the town's newspaper.

The earliest taverns, including the one owned by Christian Buhl at First and Main Streets, served as guest houses or hotels for the many pioneers traveling westward in the 19th century. Buhl's, one of the earlier German-owned taverns, later became Minck's Brewery.

Urquhart did not make a distinction between taverns and saloons in his 1881 *Directory*, but he did cite eleven hotels along with the twenty-nine saloons.

One of the better-known southside saloons was owned by Adolph Blickwedel at Eighth and South F Streets, now known as "Mac's Place". Like many other saloons in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Blickwedel's was operated in conjunction with an adjoining grocery store. Adolph obviously had the respect of the citizens in his Ward, who elected him to the City Council. In that capacity he managed to see that South 7th Street was paved.

Cutter's tavern also was operated next to the grocery store at South Fourth and D Streets. Roland "Doc" Cutter, nephew of Ed who managed the tavern, remembers beer being dispensed in tin buckets for the customers. It was a family ritual in the south-end for a son or daughter

to rush the empty bucket or "growler" to the nearest tavern to be filled with supertime beer.

After a hard day's work at The Starr*, Jacob Kellner, for instance, returned home with an empty lunch pail, actually about a two-quart bucket. Exhausted from his ten hours at the factory, he rested in his easy chair while supper was cooking. If the menu called for beer, he would drop a dime in the bottom of the empty bucket, and send his young son, Lee, to Adolph Blickwedel's saloon two blocks away for a bucket full of lager. Lee remembers running these errands when he could barely reach the bar. According to Cutter, the practice of rushing to the tavern for a bucket of beer for supper was known as "rushing the growler", or literally rushing the pail or bucket.

Lee Kellner also remembers "Coca-Cola for 5 cents" signs at Blickwedel's. One day, he was lucky enough to come by a nickel, and headed to Blickwedel's for his first coke. He could barely reach the bar to place his nickel there. When he ordered his coke, Adolph replied, in effect, "You don't want that stuff, son, it's no good for you. Wait a minute; I'll draw you a small glass of beer; that's much better for you". Kellner never did drink a Coca-Cola until he was teenager.

Like Henry Cutter and other grocers, tavern owners helped the newcomers with home loans. Richard Schuerman still remembers the time when the widow Mrs. Schneider, owner of the Schneider tavern at 7th and C Streets, lent his father the down payment for their first home in America.

The taverns were family operations as they still are in Germany.

How important the corner taverns were to the social life of the "South-end Dutch" is not clear, but if Bartel's account is correct, many of the men, at least, gathered at Cutter's, Blickwedel's, Krone's, Schneider's, Duning's and a score of other taverns after lodge meetings, after *Mannerchor* practices or simply after a hard day's work. It should be said that, for the most part, in Germany today and presumably in earlier generations here, taverns were almost all *Gasthauser*, i.e., guesthouses with downstairs taverns accommodating men, women and entire families of all ages.

* The Starr Piano Company was referred to by the south-enders as simply Starr or The Starr.

The Starr Piano Company
Original Starr Piano Company complex. Looking east, St. Andrew Catholic Church in background.



The German Craftsmen at Starr Piano Company

One might say that if the first generation of German immigrants to Richmond was the generation of stonecutters and stonemasons who helped build the bridges and mills across and along the Whitewater, the second generation was the era of woodcarvers and cabinetmakers who helped produce the pianos, caskets and furniture made in Richmond during the 19th century.

As mentioned above, there have been many glowing written accounts of The Starr Piano Company, and the prize-winning pianos manufactured there. There is, however, no reference to the countless German woodcarvers and cabinetmakers who turned out the thousands of pianos during the more than sixty years of the Company's existence.

Fred Kaeuper, uncle of journalist, Ed Kaeuper, began working at The Starr in 1893 for the grand wage of \$4.00 weekly. The plant burned soon after Fred began working there, but was rebuilt in 1894 under Henry Gennett's ownership. Kaeuper returned and remained there for fifty-eight years until his retirement in 1952. Between 1911 and 1936, he served as foreman of the keys department. According to Paul Kaeuper's account of his father's life, 1926 was the peak year for the Starr factory when the department turned out 15,000 sets of keys.⁴⁷

Fred and his younger brother William worked at the Starr factory for a combined total of 108 years. This fact was noted in an issue of *The Tuner's Journal* in the 1940's, an issue which featured their pictures on the cover. William was a cabinetmaker there and worked as a foreman of the piano case department. In that capacity he designed one of the finely-carved later models produced by the nationally known firm. Ed Kaeuper, William's son, stated that his father worked there ten hours daily, six days a week, for fifty years. The sixth day was a short one, ending at 4:15 p.m., rather than the usual 5:45 p.m.

Roland "Doc" Cutter remembers helping to open the family store at 5 a.m. to accommodate the Starr craftsmen on their way to work. After buying a snack or tobacco, the workers crossed South Fourth Street and began the deep descent into the Gorge where they waited until the plant opened at 6 a.m.

August Newmann left the Osnabrueck area in the 1870's, presumably for Bremerhaven and America. He apparently did not have the money for passage, so he stowed away *Zwischendeck* (between decks) as his daughter-in-law, Dora Neumann tells it. The circumstances surrounding Newmann's voyage are not known, but most young Hanoverian men who secretly fled their homeland in the 1870's did so to escape Prussian military conscription or to escape poverty.

In any event, young August Newmann, like many of his fellow emigrants was a cabinetmaker, and had evidently heard from friends in Richmond that cabinetmakers were in demand here. Soon after his arrival, he secured work at Starr in the cabinet department. In 1893 a Starr piano was entered into competition with models from all of the great piano manufacturers across the U.S.A. at the World's Columbian Exposition in St. Louis.

The Starr piano won one of the top prizes. The designer of that particular model was August Newmann, who ten years earlier had crossed the Atlantic *Zwischendeck* as a penniless immigrant.

In some families more than one member worked at Starr. Henry Nordsieck, who had come to Richmond from Osnabrueck in 1899, worked as a cabinetmaker. His brother William was also an employee before he left for seminary training, and Henry's daughter Marie worked summers as a sander during her high school days.

Henry, in the first decade of the century, was able to buy a lot, build a house, and pay \$5.00 weekly on the mortgage, with wages that never exceeded \$12.00 weekly. Like most German immigrants, the Nordsieck family had a fine garden, and practiced thrifty housekeeping techniques as a matter of pride as well as necessity.

Then there was Henry Eggert, a foreman in the Starr piano cabinet department. He took great pride in the quality of workmanship of the men in his department, and he would actively recruit the best cabinetmakers he could find. On several occasions he returned to the Osnabrueck area to visit relatives, but also to entice promising young craftsmen to join his department at The Starr. In some cases he subsidized their ocean passage. Eggert, like a number of other German craftsmen at Starr, used scrap wood from piano making to create all kinds of finely-crafted pieces -- cradles, tables, chairs, and mantle pieces which still grace the homes of their descendants today. Eggert was known for crafting a child's piano.⁴⁸

Henry Luerman was a young man in Borghorst near Munster some forty miles west of Osnabrueck when, one day, a letter arrived from a relative, Oscar Jessing, a cabinetmaker at Starr Piano Company. Jessing was inviting the young Luerman, a woodworker himself, to join his crew at the Starr. Jessing thought enough of young Luerman's abilities to sponsor him.

It wasn't long before Luerman, who arrived in 1925, became a finisher in the cabinet department at Starr, applying the fine veneer woodwork. He also brought wood scraps home to fashion doll beds, children's rockers, and end tables. His daughter, Mary Maurer, reports

that "he threw nothing away". Nor did he "spend a dime on himself". Actually, in a way he couldn't. There were six children and his wife Hedwig to feed and clothe on a salary that Mary remembers at less than two dollars a day. He obviously had to work at part-time jobs to support his family, but by 1930, with the help of a loan from Henry Eggert, the family moved into their own home for the first time. Luerman was one of the German settlers who did not frequent the south-end taverns. He thought it was a waste of money, so he brewed his own beer and wine. By the time he retired, Henry Luerman owned three properties.⁴⁹

Unlike his fellow countrymen who worked at Starr, Bill Adler II was a chemist. His parents had left Alsace during the turmoil of the 1870's following the Franco-Prussian War, and settled in Cincinnati. After a trial period in 1917, Adler was brought back by the Company in 1919 to head its electroplating division. In that capacity he supervised the gold-plating of the piano pedals and other metal parts. He also supervised the copperplating of the record discs used for the growing record production in the 1920's. Altogether, Adler worked at Starr for fifteen years, until the depression years of the 1930's. His son, Bill Adler III, a current Richmond resident, worked there in his dad's department for a year. As a boy, he remembers Starr being referred to as "The Old Men's Home". It seems that the woodcarvers and cabinetmakers worked well into their seventies, because there was no retirement age, and many of the German craftsmen simply did not wish to give up their craft or their income. There was no social security either.

Bill Adler also remembers one day in the 1920's when a distinguished-looking gentleman was leaning over a water fountain in the new record building. Bill first thought the man must be an orchestra conductor.

To his amazement, the stranger was William Jennings Bryan, the great orator of the time, waiting to press a record of his speeches.

Lee Kellner's father, Jacob, was a master carver in Austria when the word came in 1906 from his sister-in-law, Mrs. Michael Rac, in Richmond, that woodcarvers were needed at The Starr. Now Jacob Kellner was a master woodcarver with seventeen apprentices working under him carving furniture, and the woodwork in homes and large estates. He was a successful and proud craftsman, the master of his trade.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was in turmoil in the early 1900's because Slavs and other minority groups were demanding the right to be self-governing. Kellner had already spent several years of military service for Emperor Franz Joseph, and as a member of the reserves,

he faced certain call-up in the event of war. The threat of war and the invitation from Richmond led the family to pack their bags for Hamburg, Germany, their port of embarkation. The Kellners apparently lived in Galicia, which was the northeastern province of Austria before World War I with a largely Slavic population. It is likely that Kellner was a *Volksdeutscher* -- a person of German origin who had migrated to the eastern part of Europe during the previous century. In any event, Jacob Kellner, who spoke both German and Polish, married a young Polish woman by the name of Maria Olszewska.

Soon after the family's arrival in Richmond, Jacob Kellner became a master woodcarver at Starr. In that capacity he did the carving on the fine grand pianos produced before and after World War I. During World War I he did the sanding and fine carving on the hand-crafted propeller blades that Starr made for the fighter planes of that era.

One thing that set Jacob Kellner apart from his fellow German craftsmen at Starr was the habit of wearing his master craftsman's suit, which he had brought with him from Austria. The black outfit included a swallow-tailed coat. He became the butt of some jokes, but Jacob was a proud man, took great pride in his status as a master carver, and continued to wear his swallow-tailed coat until his carving days were over.⁵⁰

He finished his woodcarving career at Mill's Casket Company, where the Radisson Hotel now stands. Many other German woodcarvers, including William H. Duning from Osnabrueck, hand-carved caskets in Richmond. Arriving in Richmond in the 1870's as a young man, he learned the furniture-making trade from Ferd Grothaus, Jr., furniture store owner. Later Duning worked for the Richmond Casket Company, doing the ornate carvings in oak. He also carved many of the ornaments which adorn the interior of St. John's Lutheran Church at South Seventh and E Streets.

Most of the German craftsmen, however, worked at Starr Piano Company, where they comprised the majority of carvers and cabinetmakers. Without them, it is not likely that the Starr would have gained the fame it did during the early eighty years of its existence. There were, of course, many other woodcarvers and cabinetmakers of German origin at the Starr. A partial list included George Bruening, Frank Hoelscher, Heinrich Otte, Paul Gahre, Howard Klute and Fred Noelker.

Beginnings of The Holthouse Furniture Enterprise

Other woodcarvers and cabinetmakers of note included Siegfried Weiss and his son-in-law, Joseph B. Holthouse.

J. B. Holthouse's son, Howard, reported that his father's woodworking skills had been passed down from generation to generation in the Holthouse family while in their native Bavaria. The name Holthouse itself was probably derived from *Holzhaus*, or "House of Wood", suggesting that they may have been homebuilders or cabinetmakers.

In the 1890's, Joseph Holthouse formed a furniture-making business with his father-in-law, Siegfried Weiss. Joseph, a skilled cabinetmaker, built chests of drawers, dressers, wash stands and side boards using only solid walnut, maple and oak. Siegfried, a master woodcarver, took the newly-crafted pieces and finished them with fine carvings. Could the finely-carved back-bar which still stands in the old Blickwedel saloon at South Eighth and F Streets be a Holthouse-Weiss creation?

Later, after Siegfried's death, Joseph worked as a cabinetmaker at a local bedstead factory. One day on returning home from work, he was startled to find the living room filled with chairs from Easthaven Hospital -- all with badly-broken cane seats. His wife, Frances, had bargained in his absence to re-cane the chairs. "But", Joseph exclaimed, "neither of us knows how to re-cane chairs." "We can learn", was her reply. Learn, they did, and within a short time with the savings, Joseph had bought an antique store with his grandmother, Mrs. A. M. Weiss. While the antique venture was successful, Joseph had bigger ideas. With the help of a \$500 loan from Henry Teape, Holthouse purchased a small second-hand furniture store, along with a horse and wagon. On his death in 1921, his widow, Frances, and son, Siegfried, continued the business. Eventually, they built their own Holthouse Furniture Store in the 500 block on Main Street. By the 1940's the Holthouse enterprise had become a multi-store operation with businesses in Greenville, Ohio and five Indiana cities. The expanded enterprise was managed by Joseph's four sons -- Siegfried, Howard, Joseph and Roland. After the tragic downtown explosion in 1968, a new huge complex was built at 6000 East Main Street, where the business is still managed by the third and fourth generation of Holhouses.⁵¹

Wernle Children's Home --St. John's Contribution

No discussion of the German-American influence on Richmond in the 19th century would be complete without reference to Wernle Children's Home. According to the 1884 *History of Wayne County*, the original buildings had housed the Friends' Greenmount School, which was later sold to a group who operated a Health Reform School there. By the mid-1870's, the buildings were made available to the Joint Lutheran Synod of Ohio, which converted the buildings to a home for

orphans. The first Board of Trustees included Richmond residents Rev. Mr. Henry Wickemeyer and Henry Cutter. As noted above, Henry Cutter played a major role in the founding of the Home. The Home itself was named for Rev. Wernle of Galion, Ohio. While he had contributed \$500 to the project, it was the leaders of St. John's Lutheran congregation who were most responsible for the development of Wernle Home.

The Rev. Wickemeyer, Henry Cutter and their associates had obtained the land for the Home for \$7,100, and the congregation, in turn, raised \$4,100 towards the purchase price of the buildings. Given the heavy involvement of the local leaders, it might have been more appropriately called the St. John's Children Home⁵²

One of the early superintendents of the Home was the Rev. George Maier of Moessingen, Wuerttemberg, Germany. His widowed mother had brought George to America in the 1850's to escape the turmoil created by the endless wars for the unification of Germany and to avoid certain military conscription. After a perilous three-month voyage across the Atlantic, mother and son eventually made their way to Richmond where young George became a teacher in St. John's Parochial School. He also doubled as organist, and for his labor received the meager salary of \$300 annually. According to his granddaughter, Mrs. Edith Kaeuper, at one time there were nine Maier children to feed, so the parishioners brought the family produce and livestock, including pigs, to supplement the pitifully-low salary.

Teacher Maier, as the parishioners referred to him, served as teacher and principal of St. John's Parochial for thirty-two years, until he assumed the leadership of the Home in 1895. During his tenure, enrollment leapt from thirty-five to 100 pupils.

Rev. Maier was one of a long succession of Lutheran ministers who headed the Home, and according to the *Richmond Palladium and Sun Telegram*, his administration was one of the most successful. On the occasion of the Maier's Golden Wedding Anniversary in 1914, the *Palladium* reported that he "gave the Home the best administration it has had". The work of Lucinda Maier with the orphans was particularly effective, and the love she engendered in the hearts of the children has abided to this day.

Another of the early superintendents was the Rev. Gerhardt Gahre, who also served at St. John's Lutheran Church before he administered the Home. Rev. Gahre and his wife Mary also became a "father" and "mother" to the forty-five children during his tenure from 1910 to 1915. His daughter-in-law, Nellie Gahre, remembers a severe

diphtheria epidemic at the Home during that period which took the lives of nine children. All of the residents at the time were orphaned children.

The original purpose of the Home was for orphans and the homeless. By 1884, five years after its opening, the Orphans' Home housed ninety-seven residents or inmates as they were referred to in the 1884 *History of Wayne County*. The residents included adults, as well as children. During 1883, Wernle Home cared for ninety-six transient adults, presumably homeless, and fifty-three prisoners, along with orphans. According to Paul Knecht, Superintendent of the Home since 1966, the prisoners might also have been men and women who were essentially homeless after their release from prison.

Over the years the function has changed. Today, according to Pastor Knecht, the Home has become a treatment center for children with severe problems. About sixty percent are "orphans of the living", i.e., they have a living parent or parents who either will not or cannot care for them. The children have, consequently, been placed at the Home by Juvenile Courts and Welfare Departments. Today there are few, if any, Lutheran children referred to the Home. Despite this fact, St. John's Lutheran Church in Richmond maintains its interest in the Home with yearly contributions and membership on the Board of Directors. The Lutheran Synod contributes about eight percent of the Home's annual budget.

Southside Improvement Association members attending the dedication of the South Side (G Street) Bridge on July 10, 1932, were, from left, Lon Jones, A. J. Miller (with hands on shoulders of unidentified man), Oscar Smith, Matt Brinker, Ray Steinbrink, J. Everett Niewoehner, Hans Koll, John H. Niewoehner, Harvey Hunt, J. Henry E. Bode (with shovel), Anton Stolle, Fred Wieseahn, William C. Kaeuper, Fred Englebert, Councilman William Schneider and William Bartel.



CHAPTER VI

ASSIMILATION AND CONFLICT: 1900-1933

The period between 1900 and 1933 was an era of increasing assimilation of Richmond's German-Americans into the mainstream of Richmond's society. The grandchildren of the original settlers were marrying non-Germans in ever-larger numbers. They were also leaving the German-speaking St. John's Lutheran and St. Andrew Catholic Churches for the English-speaking parishes of their respective denominations.

In the early years of the 20th century, however, the "South-end Dutch" noticed that municipal improvements were made on the city's wealthier east side at the expense of their neighborhoods. Consequently, a group of their leaders formed the Southside Improvement Association (SSIA) to lobby the city fathers for the improvements they felt they deserved.

The period of greatest conflict, however, occurred during World War I when many of Richmond's German-Americans came under suspicion for loyalty to Kaiser Wilhelm and the cause against the Allies.

Impact of the Southside Improvement Association

Whatever the reasons for the apparent neglect of south-end development, the newly-formed Southside Improvement Association took matters into its own hands around 1900. Led by such south-enders as Councilmen Harm Swicker, William Schneider, Adolph Blickwedel, Matt Brinker, Ray Steinbrink, Everett Niewoehner, Hans Koll, John H. Niewoehner, Henry Bode, Anton Stolle, Fred Wieseahn, William C. Kaeuper, Fred Engelbert, and William Bartel, the group had a list of priorities. The projects to be located in the south-end included the following.⁵³

- attracting new industries to the south-end,
- establishment of a South Seventh Street park,
- a bridge spanning the Gorge,
- a fire station,
- street car service,
- a train station.

Which of these projects made the most significant contribution to the south-end's development? Former Mayor Roland "Doc" Cutter considers the location of two industries as the major achievements of the group.

The first firm was the National Automatic Tool Company (NATCO). With the help of the SSIA, the new owner of the struggling company, William Bockhoff, located the industry in Richmond's south-end. The SSIA helped the firm secure a 7 1/2-acre plot of city property on South N Street. By World War II, NATCO was employing 1,300 workers. Bockhoff's family came from the Osnabrueck area and migrated to Cincinnati where Billy Bockhoff was born. He came to Richmond as a young man in the 1880's.

A second firm which the SSIA helped establish here was the Automotive Gear Works. In 1923 the SSIA helped the Atlanta firm secure a plot of land on South O Street near the NATCO plant, which the southside group had already helped establish. C. Edgar Hamilton, who had been with the firm in Atlanta, operated the plant with the help of his two brothers, James and R. M. Hamilton.

By the mid-1930's Automotive Gear was employing over 200 machinists and other workers. During the Second World War when the firm was making replacement gear parts for trucks and cars, employment leaped to 800. When the firm left the city in 1984 some sixty years after its founding, the payroll was down to about 250.

Not more than one out of ten employees were "South-end Dutchmen". They, of course, had been trained in the villages around Osnabrueck in crafts related to wood and stone. Very few had the opportunity to learn the machine trades in the larger cities of Germany.

Skilled machinists of German stock did come to the city in later decades. One such was Erich Grundman, a highly-skilled toolmaker, who migrated to the states in 1927 from Zwickau in Saxony. He enjoyed a long career with ALCOA both in Richmond and in Pittsburgh.

Possibly the most visible and most controversial of the SSIA's achievements was the South G Street Bridge, spanning the Whitewater Gorge⁵⁴ South-end residents had been petitioning for a bridge across the Gorge since 1889. A pedestrian bridge had spanned the Gorge at South E Street from 1870 to 1875 when it collapsed. Consequently, many south-enders felt the new bridge should be built at South E Street, while others opted for South L Street. In the end the two factions compromised and persuaded the County Commissioners to approve the project in 1931 at a cost of approximately \$200,000.

While the SSIA was not the only group supporting the new bridge, they are generally given the lion's share of the credit for bringing the project to fruition after many agonizing, frustrating and stormy years of remonstrances and petitions. In fact, there is a corroded plaque on the southwest corner of the bridge which bears the following inscription:

South Side Bridge
Sponsored by
Southside Improvement Association
Bridge Committee

J. Henry E. Bode, Chairman
John Niewoehner Wilfred Jessup
Harbey Hunt Anton Stolle
A.D. 1932

The project that apparently stood first on the SSIA's agenda in the early 1900's was the location of a fire station in the city's south side.⁵⁵ The City Council had voted to build a new fire station on the city's developing west side. Harm Swicker, city councilman at the time, would have none of it. If a new station were to be built, it would have to be in his south side district. This Council action may have been the catalyst for the formation of the SSIA in 1900. In any event, the "South-end Dutch" finally got their fire station in 1905 at South Ninth and E Streets. There had been an earlier firehouse on the south side from 1859 to 1871. That station, located at the intersection of South Sixth and E Streets, was known as the "Wooden Shoes" Company because of its largely German volunteer membership. The No. 1 "Wooden Shoes" Company was apparently in competition with the No. 2 Quaker City Company located on the near north side.

After its abandonment in 1871, the "Wooden Shoes" house was used as a social center by the "South-end Dutch", and after 1900 the SSIA sponsored many dances and concerts in the old engine house. The Knollenberg orchestra, consisting of Charles, George, John and William, often furnished the music, and Peter Kuhlman did the calling. The *Liederkrantz* (singing society), one of the popular men's choral groups of the day, held their practices there and used the upstairs hall for concerts.

The South Seventh Street park or Swicker Park was another visible achievement of the SSIA. Located at the intersection of South Seventh and E Streets, it is still a shaded tree-covered park for the enjoyment of the neighborhood's residents. Richard Wicks, leader of the Swicker Park Association of Neighbors, considers the Park one of the SSIA's major contributions to the city.

Judge Gustave Hoelscher: A Legend in His Own Time⁵⁶

Not many of us are fortunate enough to become legends in our own time, but Judge Gustave Hoelscher earned that accolade after serving forty-two years as Wayne County Circuit Court Judge, a record for years of service in Indiana.

The "Dutchman", as he was known to some of his colleagues, did not have an auspicious beginning. Born in 1886 of newly-arrived immigrant parents from the farm village of Belm near Osnabrueck, young Gustave had to work overtime to reach each step of the way to his long and illustrious career on the Wayne County bench. One of the "South-end Dutch", he, with his brother Bill, taught his parents the English language. Young Gustave was to become the first lawyer and judge to emerge from the Osnabrueck settlers.

After graduating from the eighth grade at Garfield School, he worked for a year at The Starr, gluing strips on sounding boards of pianos for \$2.50 per week, and later putting strings on pianos for \$1.00 a day.

Gus entered Richmond High School in 1901, but during those four years, he worked after school and Saturdays at Knollenberg's Store, clerking in the men's department for \$1.50 per week. Despite this rigorous work schedule, he graduated with honors in 1905.

Were the dollars he had saved during five years of working at odd jobs meant for the college and law-school education which lay ahead? Whatever the purpose was, the family could not afford to send him to a residential college like Wittenberg, a good Lutheran school just fifty miles to the east. Frank Hoelscher and Anna were devout Lutherans. Son Gustav had received catechism at St. Paul's Lutheran Church in German when he was twelve years old, and an embossed certificate on completing a Sunday School course in 1905. Gus, as he was known to his friends, attended Earlham College instead, as a "day dodger". He earned his tuition money, \$75 per semester, working at various summer jobs during his college career. On graduation he was accepted at the University of Michigan Law School in Ann Arbor, and proceeded to earn the Doctor of Jurisprudence degree in 1910 on recommendation of the



Judge Gustave Hoelscher

Judge Gustave "Gus" Hoelscher, Wayne County Circuit Court Judge, 1924-1947. Longest tenure in Indiana history. Hoelscher's parents arrived from Belm in 1883.

faculty. By waiting tables and washing dishes he was able to finish law school with a cash outlay of \$1,000. Young Gus was also awarded a scholarship to Haverford College after admission to law school, but the Ann Arbor Dean advised against accepting it, because Haverford might impair "his thinking along legal lines".

After his admission to the bar by Judge Henry C. Fox in 1910, Hoelscher practiced law in Richmond for fourteen years before his 1924 appointment to the Wayne County Circuit Court judgeship to fill the unexpired term of Judge William Bond. That fall the young Judge ran for the same office on the Republican ticket, and for six successive six-year terms held the post with little opposition. On his appointment to the bench in 1924 Hoelscher remarked, "This Court is part of our government, and it is a place where justice is to be publicly administered....it will always be the purpose of the Court in every case that comes before it, to first attempt to determine fairly what the facts of the case are and what the law applicable to the facts is, and then apply that law to the facts."

Many public servants make glittering promises at the beginning of their careers only to disappoint their public with inept, undistinguished careers, or sometimes questionable practices. In Judge Hoelscher's case, however, his maiden speech was a declaration of promises fulfilled during a forty-two year career.

What are the qualities that enable a Judge to be re-elected six successive times, to serve longer than any other Circuit Court Judge in Indiana history, and to become a legend in his own time?

In the first place, his knowledge of the law was exhaustive. In a sense he was a walking encyclopedia of the law. He researched the cases before him, rather than relying on authorities. He was a teacher of law as well as a judge. Attorney Andy Cecere, among others, remarked that he learned more from the Judge about the law than he learned in law school. Hoelscher did his homework, and woe unto any attorney appearing before him who had not done so. The poorly-prepared lawyer would not be embarrassed in Court, according to Cecere, but some harsh words awaited him in the Judge's chambers.

In the second place, Hoelscher gained tremendous respect for his integrity. Though a staunch Republican, political or personal loyalties played no role in his decisions. It is more than a coincidence that in a story on the 100th anniversary of his birth, the *Palladium-Item* headline read, "A Century of Integrity".

When Cecere was about to graduate from the University of Michigan Law School, one of his teachers, Professor Paul Kaeuper, suggested

that he consider Kaeuper's home town for the practice of law. Professor Kaeuper, son of Richmond's Fred Kaeuper, cabinetmaker and long-time Starr employee, had become a distinguished professor of law at Ann Arbor, Hoelscher's own alma mater. Cecere took Professor Kaeuper's advice, and on arrival in 1949, he was formally introduced to Judge Hoelscher by the then Sheriff Wilson.

The Sheriff began his introduction by saying, "Judge, we've got a fine young fellow here, and he's a good Republican too." Cecere replied, "That's not quite true." Now the Judge could be a gruff and sometimes profane man, and was startled to hear Cecere's reply. "So, what the hell are you?", the Judge asked. "Well, I, I, I guess I'm a Democrat", stammered Cecere. "Well, what in the hell kind of Democrat are you?" Cecere replied, haltingly, "I, I, I guess I'm a New Deal Democrat." The Judge was clearly taken aback by the brash young outsider from Pittsburgh. All he could say was, "What's this blankety-blank country coming to?"

Despite their sharp differences in backgrounds and political views, the Judge soon developed a keen respect for the outspoken young attorney from Pittsburgh because he did his legal homework. When Cecere presented a case before the Judge, it had been thoroughly researched on all points of law affecting the case. That's all that mattered to Hoelscher. Before long a mutual respect developed between the two barristers that has lasted a life-time.

Because of his reputation as a "lawyer's judge", his knowledge of the law and his fairness, attorneys in other counties would often venue difficult cases to the Wayne County Circuit Court.

After having handled over 50,000 cases during his forty-two years on the bench, only two of Hoelscher's judgments were reversed by Courts of Appeal. Attorneys may have disagreed with his judgments in some cases, but they seldom challenged them because they knew that his knowledge of the law was superior to theirs.

On his retirement from the Court in 1967, Attorney Cecere was asked by the Bar Association to write the group's tribute. The tribute was an eloquent three-page statement in booklet form. Among other things, Cecere said the following:

He was not a big man physically, but he appeared giant-like. And he knew the law; he understood its design, and its purpose; he loved it as the protector of the community of men...in his judgments he would divorce

himself from the emotionalism, political, ethnic and cultural, that becloud the ordinary man...he knew of the poor, the worthiness of labor and sweat; he had compassion for those whom society shunned or branded as unacceptable-- he showed concern for the weak, the uneducated, even the failure...he knew and practiced equality before the bar of justice.

These then are the attributes which helped make Judge Gustave Hoelscher a legend in his own time. There have been other Richmond-born attorneys and judges of German origin, of course, but Gustave Hoelscher was the first and the most esteemed. His own grandson, William Hoelscher, was appointed to fill an unexpired term on the bench of the Wayne Circuit Court in 1988, at precisely the same age as his grandfather on his appointment in 1924.

German-American Influences In City Hall

In 1900, Fred Bartel wrote:

I find that the major part of the German Catholics of the United States have joined the Democratic party, while most of the German Protestants have joined the Republican party.

However, here in Richmond, I find that for some unknown cause, almost all of the original Protestants, as well as the German Catholics, joined the Democratic party, and consequently, although today fully two-thirds of the Germans are Protestants, yet the majority of the Germans of Richmond vote the Democratic ticket.

Richmond, being a strongly-Republican city, and the German vote being largely Democratic and badly divided, doubtless accounts, to some extent, for the fact that few Germans have obtained prominent political positions.⁵⁷

Several questions are raised by Bartel's conclusions. If the German-American vote in 1900 was largely Democratic, why was that true, given the basically conservative life-style of the German immigrants? Does the same political preference hold true today?

Secondly, Bartel states that because of divided political loyalties, few Germans obtained prominent political positions. Let us examine the last statement first.

There have been twenty-eight mayors throughout Richmond's history, only eight of whom have been of German origin. The first of these was John L. Rupe, a lawyer and a Republican, who served briefly from 1883 to 1884. Although born in Economy, he was the first Wayne Countian to become mayor of Richmond.⁵⁸ Rupe was the city's ninth mayor, and the only 19th-century mayor of German origin.

Bartel's observations concerning lack of German participation were correct insofar as City Hall was concerned during the 19th century. Between 1898 and 1921, however, two German-American mayors held office for all but four years. Dr. William Zimmerman, a medical doctor and a Republican, held office from 1898 to 1905, again from 1910 to 1913 and finally from 1918 to 1921. Dr. Richard Schillinger, another medical doctor and a Democrat, served from 1906 to 1909. Schillinger was a Covington, Kentucky native. The only mayor of non-German origin during that period was Will J. Robbins, who served from 1914 to 1917.

No other mayors of German origin were elected until Joseph Waltermann, a mortician and a Democrat, won the post in 1935. It was another twenty years before another mayor of German origin, Roland H. Cutter, occupied City Hall for two terms between 1956 and 1964. "Doc" Cutter, an insurance agency executive and a Democrat, is one of four living mayors of German origin. He was followed four years later by Byron Klute, a high school teacher and a Democrat, who served from 1968 to 1975. Clifford Dickman, a businessman and a Republican, held office from 1976 to 1983, and Frank Waltermann, also a mortician and a Democrat, and the son of Joseph Waltermann, has held office since 1984.

While Bartel may have been correct about his observation that few German-Americans "obtained prominent political positions" in the 19th century, the same cannot be said, obviously, for the 20th century. Since 1900, Richmond has elected thirteen mayors, seven of whom have been of German origin, beginning with Dr. William Zimmerman in 1898 and ending with Frank Waltermann, whose term ends in 1992. Bartel's other conclusion that bears examination was his assumption that

Richmond's Germans as a group tended to vote Democratic more often than Republican in the 19th century. One indicator is the fact that since 1900 five of the seven German-American mayors have been Democrats.

Why, in a city where Republican registrations outnumber Democrats almost two to one, should most of the German-Americans presumably lean to the Democratic ticket? This question was put to the three living mayors of German origin with Democratic affiliation.

In Roland "Doc" Cutter's case, his grandfather Henry Cutter, who came to Richmond in 1857, registered Democratic after his naturalization in the 1860's. How can one explain Cutter's decision at the time? One must remember that Henry Cutter, like scores of his fellow immigrants, came as a young man ahead of his family. Why did a young man in his late teens or early twenties leave the security of his family behind to face the risk of a perilous ocean voyage and the uncertainties of life in middle America? As we have seen in case after case, the young men, who were often only sons, came to America to escape the endless wars, certain military conscription and possible death. What the immigrants found in America in the 1860's was a "war party", the Republican party headed by Abraham Lincoln, and a wing of the Democratic party known as the "Peace Democrats", also branded Copperheads, who opposed Lincoln and the Civil War. It seems entirely possible that a newly-arrived immigrant who had left his country to avoid the endless wars there would have opted for the "Peace Democrats".

In any event, affiliation with the Democratic party became a family tradition among the Cutters from grandfather to grandson, Roland "Doc" Cutter. Now Henry Cutter was not only a registered Democrat, but he was also an adviser to the new immigrants. As a merchant, he advised many newcomers where to register to vote and possibly how to register. It's likely that in the process, he steered many an immigrant to the Democratic party.

The Waltermann family has the same history. When Frederick Waltermann arrived in Richmond in 1852 by way of New Orleans and Cincinnati, he was also migrating from the Kingdom of Hanover to escape the wars and conscription, according to his grandson Charles Waltermann. So, it's quite likely that when he registered to vote the first time, he, too, was attracted to the "Peace Democrats" who opposed the Civil War as a means of settling the slavery issue. Whatever his motivation, he passed on his political loyalty to his son Joseph, who

served as mayor from 1935 to 1938, and to his grandson Frank, who has just begun his second term as mayor in 1988.

Byron Klute's case was somewhat different. He came from a solidly Republican family, but opted for the Democratic party in the early 1960's during the Kennedy period. Like millions of other young Americans, he was captivated by the charisma, idealism and policies of the young Jack Kennedy. His transformation actually began while a student at Ball State University, where several professors of political science caused him to question his family's political stance. As a result of those classes, he would argue with his father about New Deal policies such as social security, minimum wage and the right of labor to organize. Byron defended these policies, of course. Yet, in 1956, he voted for President Eisenhower. By 1960, however, Jack Kennedy was enunciating the same policies FDR had fashioned a generation earlier. At that point the mayor-to-be broke with his past and registered Democratic. He was one of several million other idealistic young Americans who also deserted their Republican roots during the Kennedy years.

Further support for Fred Bartel's conclusions concerning the political preferences of Richmond's German population in the 19th century is provided by a recent publication, *The Politics of Ethnicity*. Speaking of 19th-century America, the authors state that political preference by religious and ethnic groups adhered to the following pattern.⁵⁹

Strongly Whig Republican

Blacks- Quakers
(until 1930's)

Scotch-Irish Swedish Lutherans

Moderately Whig Republican

Yankees British Canadians

English German Sectarians
(Brethren, Mennonites)

Moderately Democratic

Dutch Reformed

German Lutheran

German Reformed

Strongly Democratic

French Canadians Irish Catholics

German Catholics Southern Whites

These political affiliations held, according to the authors, until the Great Depression in the 1930's. Exceptions included the Germans of Lutheran and Reformed persuasion who began to shift to the Republican party under President McKinley, who had promised the country prosperity at the turn of the century. The Democrats, under Grover Cleveland, had been blamed for the Depression of the 1890's.⁶⁰

Richmond's German Catholics apparently have remained with the Democratic party through the generations. The voting precinct including St. Andrew parish is still one of the most heavily Democratic precincts in the city. That same precinct (Ward 1), which included most of Richmond's German Catholics and Lutherans in 1869, voted sixty percent Democratic in the mayoral election. Ward 5, north of Main Street and east of Ninth Street, the area where most of the "wealthy Quakers" lived in 1869, went seventy-three percent Republican.⁶¹

Community Tensions During World War I

When native-born Americans reflect on World War I, either from their personal experiences or from history books, their recollections are limited to 1917 and 1918, the period of America's entrance into the war and the triumphant Armistice in November, 1918. German-Americans, however, who lived during the early decades of this century, remember World War I differently. Their time span includes the period between its beginning in August, 1914, when Germany declared war on Russia and France, and ended with the humiliating Treaty of Versailles in 1919, which demanded the unconditional surrender of Germany.

Whatever one's perspective of the War, the result was the termination of good feeling between German-Americans and most other United States' citizens. The era of harmony was replaced by distrust, hostility and the banning of any symbol of German culture in Richmond, Cincinnati and throughout the land. While the written accounts of hostility in Richmond are fragmentary at best, the history of that period in Cincinnati is well documented.⁶²

Cincinnati, of course, had a strong German identity with a large and diverse population of German intellectuals, nationalists in Turner Societies or *Turnverein*, and, of course, craftsmen and manual laborers. Many of them remembered with pride their victory over France in the war of 1871, and felt that Germany had established itself as a world power with the emergence of the First German Empire under Bismarck in that same decade.

So when Germany declared war against France and Russia and invaded Belgium in 1914, Cincinnati Germans and others throughout

America rallied to the defense of the Fatherland with material aid. England had entered the War after the invasion of Belgium. In the eyes of many German-Americans, World War I was seen as a product of Anglo-French imperialism. Consequently, many German-Americans in Cincinnati, and possibly in other cities, defined the goal of the struggle as the conquest of England and France by their hereditary enemies, America and Germany. In the eyes of these German nationalists, America and Germany were emerging as the world's two greatest powers, and no rift, they thought, should come between the old and new Fatherlands.

Between 1914 and 1916 President Wilson had called for American neutrality. So when America declared war against Germany in April, 1917, German-Americans in Cincinnati and presumably in Richmond and throughout the country were shocked and totally unprepared for the consequences.

What were the consequences?

As the War progressed, and more American merchant ships were sunk and American casualties increased at the hands of the formidable German army, anti-German war hysteria also increased.

Cincinnati's bilingual German-English program had been copied by school systems nationwide. In 1916, 12,856 pupils had been enrolled in that program, but in 1918 the Board of Education "gave into public demand" and abolished the teaching of German that year. A *Cincinnati Enquirer* headline screamed, "Dropped: Hun Language Barred."⁶² Already, in September, 1917, the German Textbook Censoring Committee removed all books from the Cincinnati schools judged to be pro-German.

Other results of the war hysteria in Cincinnati were the dropping of German street names and intimidation of German leaders who had shown strong German loyalties during the early years of the War.

Anti-German War Hysteria in Richmond⁶³

Were the effects of anti-German war hysteria in the Richmond area similar to those in Cincinnati?

Richmond apparently had an excellent program of German language instruction before World War I, possibly based on Cincinnati's

* There was a public burning of all books printed in German in Winchester, Indiana's town square in 1917. No such event, however, occurred in Richmond.

bilingual curriculum. A local resident, a grade school pupil at the time, remembers her anticipation at the prospect of learning the German language in Hibberd School's fourth grade in the fall of 1917. During the summer, however, the Richmond School Board abruptly cancelled the teaching of German throughout the school system. Hibberd School, in fact, was a "magnet school" offering German at the elementary level. Pupils from throughout the city were admitted to this program. Those who wished to continue their study of German could take advantage of Garfield Middle School's excellent language program.

Concerning the erasing of German place names, the most celebrated case in Wayne County was that of changing East Germantown to Pershing. East Germantown, at its founding, was really called Georgetown. It wasn't until the 1820's that a group of Pennsylvania-German settlers from the counties around Lancaster and York influenced the authorities to change the name to East Germantown. So, in 1918, responding to the war hysteria, the town adopted Pershing (after General "Black Jack" Pershing) as the town's third name in a century. Historic identities never quite die, however, for in 1988 the official map of Indiana identified the village as East Germantown again. As to personal attacks on German-Americans in the Richmond area, there were reports of threats and other hostile actions by Richmond citizens, but no reports of personal injury nor property damage. One such hostile act concerned Hans Koll who had a real estate office at the corner of North Ninth and A Streets. Some person or group brought an enormous Civil War cannon; placed it in the center of A Street, and aimed it directly at Koll's office only a few yards away.

Another German-American, Dr. Krieger, had been an out-spoken supporter of the German cause, at least in the early years of the War. After one of his speeches at the First English Lutheran Church in 1917, Krieger received a number of verbal threats, none of which were carried out.

Another incident that reflected the anti-German hysteria in Richmond was the case of the local well-known photographer who was almost "run out of town", in the words of one informant, for having photographed the Richmond *Kriegsverein*. The *Kriegsverein* was a German veterans' group which had fought in the 1871 Franco-Prussian War. The group of some thirty members assembled sometime during the period between 1914 and 1917 for a picture. Had they been in civilian clothes, the local reaction might not have been as intense. For the occasion, however, they dressed in their military uniforms resplen-

dent with the medals from the 1871 War. In a few cases, the veterans brought their weapons for the photo occasion.

It may be that the *Kriegsverein* members still hoped that America would side with Germany in the war against England, as did many Cincinnati Germans at the time. They misjudged the growing anti-German mood in Richmond, however, and the photographer suffered the consequences. Either the photo session, or the War itself, led to the dissolution of the *Kriegsverein*. One local informant indicated that "they disbanded for their own personal safety".

The Rush to Naturalization in 1917

The *Naturalization Records* in the Wayne County Courthouse reflect another dilemma some German-born residents faced. By 1917, German-born residents who had not applied for naturalization were declared "enemy aliens". A number of Richmond residents were in that category. So, in 1917 and 1918 the records reveal a rush to naturalization among local unnaturalized Germans who had lived here for twenty, thirty or more years.

John Feltman, for instance, had arrived as a two-year old with his family in 1844. He assumed that his father had taken out naturalization papers for the family, but when he was declared an "enemy alien" in 1917, Feltman applied for naturalization at age seventy-five.

Henry F. Kehlenbrink, who had arrived here from Neuenkirchen with his parents in 1857, also assumed that he was a citizen until he found out otherwise in 1918.

Among others who had arrived in the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's, but who did not apply for naturalization until the World War I period, were Adam Bullerdick, Adam Boes, John Nolte, Rudolf Wesler, William Tiemeier, William Henry Klute, George Hartman, Henry Gehring and William Henry Duning. All of these men, however, had become respected members of the community, and were, therefore, granted citizenship.

One exception to this rule was Martha Pohlenz. She was apparently a single woman, and had been a housekeeper at Easthaven Hospital since 1890. She was denied citizenship. When, in 1917, she discovered that the authorities declared her an "enemy alien", her protest was of no avail. She also assumed that the naturalization process had been completed. For reasons not clarified in the 1917 *Naturalization Records*, she was singled out for rejection from the scores of late applicants.

How many of the late applicants who had waited decades to become naturalized were reluctant to transfer their loyalty from their Fatherland to their new land is not clear. What is clear, however, is that their application for naturalization in 1917 and 1918 required once and for all that they transfer their loyalty from the King of Hanover, or the King of Prussia as the case might be, to the United States of America.

One informant regretted that he could not provide genealogical data concerning the maternal German branch of his family because his aunt had burned the German family records and pictures during World War I. She would have burned the family's German language books had relatives not intervened. Her son had been drafted into the armed forces here, and under the influence of anti-German war hysteria, she denied every aspect of her German heritage.

In the field of social psychology this reaction is identified as group self-hatred. One apologizes for, rejects or hates the ethnic group to which one belongs. This can include name changes, disassociation from members of the despised group, and changes in religion.

As late as 1988 one detects a sense of timidity among some German-Americans about their ethnic identity. They would rather not "come out" as it were. In an earlier reference to the 1980 census, it was noted that in the Richmond area population of some 41,000, over 13,000 either did not report or specify any ancestry other than American. Could some of these have been persons of German or part-German ancestry who did not wish to be identified as such?

Anti-German prejudices were much more subdued in Richmond during World War II, but the legacy of World War I still seems to linger in the self-feelings of some residents of German ancestry.

Finally, there was tension within the German-American community itself between those who felt that America should not be involved in a war against Germany, and those who supported the war effort without reservation. Some of those who opposed American entry into the war felt that their new homeland and their old one should be fighting as allies against their traditional enemies, the British and the French. This was also, of course, the view of a number of Cincinnati Germans. Others in the German community here had been sending aid packages and money during the 1914-1917 period to help the German cause. Most of the German-Americans in Richmond, however, supported the war effort against Germany after America declared war in April, 1917, nearly four years after the war began.

What is apparent, though, is that there was a tremendous amount of bitterness in the Richmond community directed towards Germans in general, and conflict between those "South-end Dutch" who had reservations about America's war effort and those who didn't. One of the ironies of the anti-German hysteria was the fact that in 1918 the same citizenry elected a mayor of German origin, William Zimmerman, M.D., to his third four-year term. Obviously, his previous terms as mayor had served him well. He was apparently a man of integrity and competence, and for the voters, that mattered more than his nationality.

The Decade of the 1920's--Assimilation

Every ethnic group, in time, becomes absorbed into the larger community. For the "South-end Dutch" this process meant losing their unique *Platt-Deutsch* dialect, and their neighborhood identity. This also meant the termination of sermons delivered in High German, as well as the dissolving of German singing groups, social clubs and lodges.

The elimination of *Platt-Deutsch* and High German as the languages of the "South-end Dutch" was, of course, accelerated by the dropping of the language from Richmond's school system in 1917. Teaching of German became *verboten*, as did everything else associated with the German way of life.

One might say that the anti-German hysteria of the World War I period did more to hasten the assimilation of the "South-end Dutch" into the mainstream of American life than any event before or after the Great War.

Curiously enough, though, German services continued at St. John's until 1943. Dual services -- English at 8:30 a.m., German at 10:30 a.m. -- were instituted in 1915 and continued until 1931. After 1931 German services were held on alternate Sundays. St. Andrew continued German services through World War I into the early 1920's. Given the stigma attached to anything German during World War I, it is remarkable that German services in any form survived that period.

One can explain this tenacity only by referring to an explanation offered above: it was thought that the preservation of their faith depended somewhat on the use of the German tongue in the churches and schools.

Why did the use of German continue for two decades longer at St. John's than at St. Andrew? This was very likely due, in part, to the continuation of the St. John's Parochial School until 1934, a *Geminde Schule* which continued courses in German until the end. St. Andrew

Parish School continued into the 1960's, but the teaching of German was dropped during World War I.

St. John's and the Assimilation Process

Generally speaking, European immigrants have lost their identity as Germans, Hungarians, French or Dutch during the grandchildren's generation. The first generation has usually held tenaciously to their native language, customs and values. The second generation of sons and daughters more often than not have attended public schools where their acceptance and status depended on learning the English language and adopting American customs. Given the strength of peer-group pressure, a second-generation German child in the public schools often became ashamed of his parents' "South-end Dutch" brogue and Old World customs. In many cases the second generation rebelled by joining other churches, changing their names and by refusing to speak or learn German. By the third generation, the grandchildren had become thoroughly Americanized.

This assimilation process began among Richmond's Lutherans in 1892 when an English-speaking faction split from St. John's and formed the Trinity Lutheran congregation over the language issue. Presumably, the Trinity Lutheran group was made up largely of second-generation Germans who had attended public schools or whose children were in school at the time.

While most third-generation Germans in the Richmond area were assimilated by the third generation, the St. John's Lutheran congregation was the exception. Why? We have already discussed the continued use of the German language in church services and the Parochial School into the third and fourth decades of this century. In addition, St. John's had been a closely-knit community of "South-end Dutch", including German singing groups, a mutual benefit association, and various men's and women's societies, all of which helped maintain a strong "in-group" tradition. The "in-group" feeling at St. John's, of course, made it difficult for outsiders to gain acceptance or even feel comfortable there. This was true, also, of spouses of other backgrounds who married into St. John's families.

One other factor that likely helped the St. John's congregation maintain its ethnic identity long after other parishes in the city had lost theirs was the influx of German immigrants in Richmond during the 1920's. While several of the following German-speaking arrivals attended St. Andrew, the majority identified with St. John's Lutheran

Church. Each of the following migrants arrived speaking only German and with an attachment to the customs and values of their Homeland.

The arrivals between 1922 and 1927 according to the *Naturalization Records* at the Wayne County Courthouse included the following persons:⁶⁴

George Karl Werner from Kocherstetten in Baden, 1922, Butcher
Bernard Ammann from Rattweil, 1923, Engineer
Gustave Leiss from Stuttgart, 1923, Mechanic
Anthony Luerman from Borghorst, 1923, Clerk
William Henry Pilgrim from Osnabrueck, 1923, Painter
Felix Rehr from Nordwalde, 1923, Cabinetmaker
Eugene Schwaiger from Dornach, 1923, Machinist
John Selle from Osnabrueck, 1923, Cabinetmaker
Adolph Strauss from Urach, 1923, Shipping Clerk
Albert Werner from Wuerttemberg, 1923, Gardener
Antonia Witte from Wetten, 1923, Glovemaker
Ludwig Wuertemberger from Afaltrach, 1923, Pipecutter
Ernst Zeeb from Wuerttemberg, 1923

Frederick Bartling, Osnabrueck, 1924, Cabinetmaker
Carl Rosshart from Baden, 1924, Greenhouse Builder
Fred Arensman from Welling, 1925, Cabinetmaker
Hans Follmer from Berlin, 1925, Printer
Agnes Bertsch from Wetten, 1925, Housewife
Fred Hagel from Schwetzingen, 1925, Welder
Bernhard Kalthoff from Westfalia, 1925, Piano Tuner
Gottlob Kurz from Stuttgart, 1925, Cabinetmaker
Hugo Leiss from Stuttgart, 1925, Printer
Heinrich Luerman from Borghorst, 1925, Woodworker
Karl Meyer from Stuttgart, 1925, Cabinetmaker
Karl Moegerle from Wuerttemberg, 1925, Farmer
Erika Ott from Lubeck, 1925, Housekeeper
Martha Sattler from Pfingstadt, 1925, Housewife
William Strauss from Mannheim, 1925, Gardener
Josef Witte from Wetten, 1925, Cabinetmaker

Frank Arkenberg from Damme, 1926, Florist
Heinrich Hageman from Eiken, 1926, Cabinetmaker
Kurt Hess from Meiningen, 1926, Carpenter
Franz Kramer from Damme, 1926, Baker

Anne Zehmen from Stuttgart, 1926, Housekeeper
 William Martin from Hitzhausen, 1927, Cabinetmaker
 Carl Rehr from Norwalde, 1927, Cabinetmaker

This is a partial list of the arrivals between 1922 and 1927. Unfortunately, *Naturalization Records* from 1928 to 1933 are missing from Courthouse files.

While this group of forty or so emigres was an insignificant addition to Richmond's population in the 1920's, they did provide a new infusion of German language and customs into the "South-end Dutch" neighborhood in general, and into St. John's Lutheran congregation in particular. Because of the new arrivals, and the continuation of German services at St. John's, one might conclude that this enclave of "South-end Dutch" did not lose their German identity until after World War II.

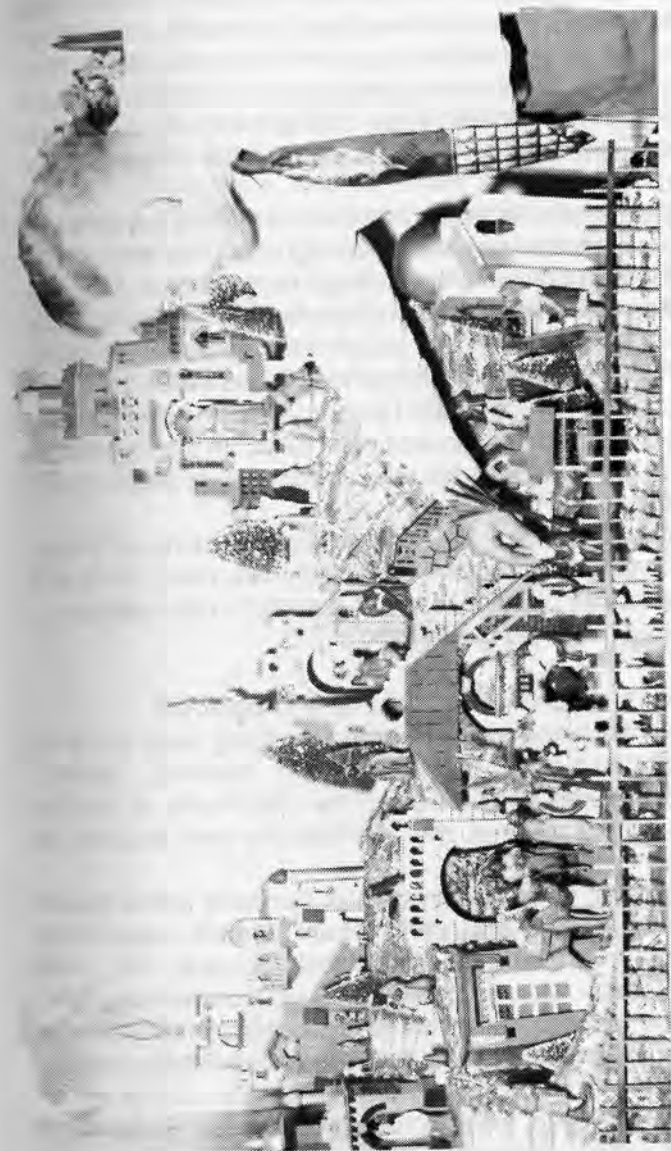
Frank Arkenberg, Woodcarver from Damme⁶⁵

Near the end of the first century of the German emigration to the Richmond area, a young man arrived from the Catholic town of Damme northeast of Osnabrueck. With the arrival of Frank J. Arkenberg in 1926 the Hanoverian migration had come full-circle. The very first Germans to migrate directly to Richmond in 1833 was the Bennett Baumer family, also from Damme.

Arkenberg's arrival repeated other characteristics of the earlier emigres. He reached Richmond as a single male in search of work. He was also a skilled woodcarver. In addition he was a landless third son, *Der Kleine*, trying to cope with the turmoil and instability of post-World War I Germany.

He had survived the extreme hardship of a French prisoner-of-war camp during and after World War I. On his return to his farm home near Damme, after a risky escape from the French, Arkenberg found the family's farm in the hands of his older brother. Faced with the prospect of becoming a poor tenant farmer in the farm villages around Damme, Frank chose to emigrate to America.

His only link with America was an uncle in Minster, Ohio, who agreed to sponsor him. After a short stay in Minster, he decided to seek his fortune in Richmond where another relative now lived. Arriving here with very little money and speaking only *Platt-Deutsch*, Frank attended Americanization classes where he learned conversational English. Within a year he became a rose grower at the Joseph H. Hill Company, where he completed nearly a half-century career in the early 1980's.



Frank J. Arkenberg, woodcarver, rose grower and native of Damme near Osnabrueck, displays his Christmas creche surrounded by replica of Bethlehem's churches and shrines. Arkenberg carved each piece during his spare time while working at Joseph H. Hill Company, rose growers.

In his spare time, Arkenberg, the craftsman, began constructing grandfather clocks with beautiful fine-grained mahogany cases. His talented hands also produced a Christmas creche including a replica of Bethlehem which appeared on public display in Richmond during the 1950's. One of his more recent masterpieces was a finely-carved and crafted clock tower some forty inches high. Like so many other German immigrants, his craft was inherited from the generations of Arkenbergs who had preceded him.

There is still another way in which the Arkenberg story repeats the history of Richmond's earlier Hanoverian immigrants. His wife to be, Maria Henntemann, from the same farm village near Damme, became indentured to the Ben Meyerfeld family in Cincinnati. On arrival in 1928 she agreed to work for the Meyerfeld couple as long as either lived. Frank had taken a liking to her in their home village and waited patiently for her to become free of her indentured status so that he might marry her. Unfortunately, the couple had to wait until 1942. In the meantime, Arkenberg built a home to receive his wife after nearly fourteen years of waiting for her "release".

Frank J. Arkenberg, woodcarver, rose grower and father of Frank A. Arkenberg, still lives in Richmond. After ninety-five years, he is still making special baskets for carrying roses at Joseph H. Hill Company -- baskets which he had designed in the 1950's.

What the "South-end Dutch" Have Taught Us

If the citizens of Richmond have learned anything over the past century from their immigrant neighbors from Hanover, Baden-Wuerttemberg and Bavaria, it is that given the opportunity to display their talents in the land of the free, the "sky was the limit" in terms of their achievements.

Chained, as it were, to a class system in Germany which bound them to their lower-class status of landless tenant farmers, wagehands and poor craftsmen, on arrival here they quickly became land - and homeowners. Craftsmen who had carried their woodworking and stonecutting tools on their backs from farm to farm in Hanover eking out meager livings, they put their talents to use here building the streets, bridges and mills of the new town along the Whitewater. Other woodworkers among them helped manufacture products for Richmond's industries, which became nationally known and respected for their workmanship. The entrepreneurs among them established businesses in the 1800's which survive over a century later.

Thorstein Veblen, son of a Norwegian carpenter and a University of Chicago economist, observed at the turn of the century that a major difference between Europeans of all nationalities and Americans was the sense of craftsmanship. Europeans generally have passed on finely-crafted skills in wood, stone, glass, metal, leather and other materials from generation to generation. While on the decline, this pride in craftsmanship persists to this day from England to Holland, Scandinavia to Germany, Austria to Italy and Greece.

After a generation or two in America, these same craftsmen found their hand skills replaced by machines and mass production. With this transition, pride in workmanship and a sense of craftsmanship declined.

Richmond can consider itself fortunate to have received some thousand of these skilled European craftsmen, not only from Germany but from nearly every European country, in the past century.

PROFILES OF SELECTED GERMAN FAMILIES BETWEEN

<u>FIRST ARRIVAL</u>	<u>RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>GERMAN ORIGIN</u>	<u>GERMAN VOCATION</u>
<u>Andrew Hoover*</u> Eliz. Waymire	1806	Kingdom of Hanover	Farmer
<u>Abraham Gaar</u> Dinah Weaver (Joanna Mikesell)**	1807	Dinkelsbuhl, Bavaria	Farmer
<u>Bennett Baumer Sr. and Jr.</u> Mrs. Baumer, Sr. (Fred Bartel)	1833	Damme	Sr. a Surgeon
<u>John Petersen</u> Eliza Hunt (Ellen Klemperer)	1834	Astrup	Stonemason
Christopher Klute (Fred Bartel)	1834	Osnabrueck	Farmer
<u>Bernard Knollenberg</u> Ellen Peterson (Ellen Klemperer)	1838	<u>Astrup</u> Belm	Farmer, Shepherd

* Selected families include only those descendants who had family histories families in the Richmond area are, therefore, not included in this listing.

** Names in parentheses are the descendants who provided the infor

WHO MIGRATED TO RICHMOND 1806 AND 1933*

<u>RICHMOND VOCATION</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>PORT OF ENTRY</u>	<u>WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED</u>
Farmer Surveyor	Quaker	Philadelphia	Wanted political freedom.
(Son Abram) Gaar, Scott Co. (1852) Farm machinery	Lutheran Methodist	Philadelphia	Religious persecution.
Jr. a Stonemason	Catholic	Baltimore	Military conscription.
Stonemason	Lutheran Quaker	Baltimore	Poverty, military conscription.
Farmer	Lutheran	Baltimore	Poverty, military conscription.
(son George) Knollenberg's Dept. Store (1866)	Lutheran	Baltimore	Poverty, military consscription.

available at the time of the study. Hundreds of other German-American
mation for the profiles.

FAMILY

<u>FIRST ARRIVAL</u>	<u>RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>GERMAN ORIGIN</u>	<u>GERMAN VOCATION</u>
<u>David Haner</u> (Fred Bartel)	1838	Osnabrueck area	Farmer
<u>Joseph Brokamp</u> Anna M. Evermann (Charles Waltermann)	1830's	Damme	Stonemason, Carpenter
<u>J. H. Moorman**</u> Rachel Meisner	1830's	Kingdom of Hanover	
<u>E. F. Rosa*</u> Catherine Koehring	1837	Osnabrueck	Stonecutter
<u>J. Chris. Menke</u> Berdina Koehring (Argus Ogborn)	1838 (parents)	<u>Osnabrueck</u> Leipzig	Stonemason
<u>Joann Drimeyer</u> Miriam Erk (Roland Cutter)	1840's	Schledehausen	

* After 1830 the newly-opened port of Bremerhaven conducted a brisk Bremerhaven carried passengers at a low cost.

** *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate

PROFILES

<u>RICHMOND VOCATION</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>PORT OF ENTRY</u>	<u>WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED</u>
	Lutheran	Baltimore*	Poverty, military conscription.
Stonemason and grocer	Catholic	Baltimore	Military conscription.
<u>Grocer</u> City Commissioner	Catholic	Cincinnati	Poverty.
Mineral water business	Lutheran	Baltimore	
<u>Shoemaker</u> Member of "German Guards"	Lutheran	<u>Baltimore</u> Whaling ship	
	Lutheran	Baltimore	

tobacco trade with the port of Baltimore. Returning cargo boats from

Publishing Company, 1884), 209, 226.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL*	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>Peter Lichtenfels**</u> Josephine Giltz	1842	Germany	Baker
<u>George H. Fetta*</u> Henrietta Aue	1846	Kingdom of Hanover	Gardener
<u>H. Diederich Meyer</u> Margaret Harting (Roland Meyer)	1847	Dothenbel Bippen	Carpenter
<u>John Feltman</u> Mary Dorothea	1844	Osnabrueck	
<u>Gottlieb Weidner</u> Eliz. Schultz (Becky Niersbach)	1847	Bavaria	Candlemaker

* Ports of entry and years of emigration from Germany are verified by

** *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY*	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
First German Bakery	Catholic	Baltimore	Poverty.
Cigar Business	Lutheran	Baltimore	
Homebuilder Renovated St. John's Church - 1856	Lutheran	Baltimore	Landless second son, indentured to Union Co. farmer.
Carpenter, Builder	Lutheran	Baltimore	
Candlemaking business	Lutheran	Baltimore	

Naturalization Records at Wayne County Courthouse, Richmond.
Publishing Company, 1884), 200.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>John F. Holtkamp</u> Mary Menke (Argus Ogborn)	1849	Melle	Cobbler
<u>John G. Schwegman*</u> Mary Johannes	1847 (parents)	Bremen	
<u>Gerhard Maschmeier</u> Anna Catherine Meier (Roland Cutter)	1850's	Melle	
<u>August Kamp, Jr.</u> Elizabeth Gray (Curtis McClelland)	1852	Kingdom of Hanover	
<u>Gerhard Grothaus</u>	1850's	Kingdom of Hanover	
<u>Bernhardt H. Heithaus</u> Elsehan Harting (Luella Heithaus)	1852	Bippen	
<u>Frederick Waltermann</u> Johanna Brokamp (Charles Waltermann)	1852	Glane	Cabinet- maker

* *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
City Street Dept.	Lutheran	New Orleans	Political refugee "48er" Relatives here.
<u>Postmaster</u> Ice Business City Council	Catholic	Cincinnati	Military conscription.
Gaar, Scott Co.	Lutheran	New Orleans	Stowaway Military conscription.
Wood craftsman Starr Piano Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	
Cabinetmaker	Catholic	New Orleans	
Stonemason	Lutheran	New Orleans	Poverty Indentured to Union Co. farmer.
Railway worker Grocer	Catholic	New Orleans	Military conscription

Publishing Company, 1884), 227.

FAMILY

<u>FIRST ARRIVAL</u>	<u>RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>GERMAN ORIGIN</u>	<u>GERMAN VOCATION</u>
<u>Adam Bartel</u> Matilda Knollenberg (Ellen Klemperer)	1854	Astrup	Farmer
<u>Henry Wessel*</u> Anna Nieman	1852	Kingdom of Hanover	Farmer
<u>John H. Koehring</u> Clara Elize (Argus Ogborn)	1853	Leipzig, Saxony	
<u>Adam Kemper</u> Louise Koehring (Rosamond Gebhart)	1854	Osnabrueck area	Farmer
<u>Henry Cutter</u> Wilhemina Drifmeyer (Roland Cutter)	1857	Melle	
<u>Henry F. Kehlenbrink**</u> Louisa	1857	Neuenkirchen	

- * *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate
 ** *Naturalization Records*, Wayne County Courthouse, 1857.

PROFILES

<u>RICHMOND VOCATION</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>PORT OF ENTRY</u>	<u>WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED</u>
Founder of Adam H. Bartel Co. 1877	Lutheran	Cincinnati	Poverty; Military conscription; Relatives here.
Invented and sold log pumps	Catholic	New York	
Street Dept. for 35 years	Lutheran	New Orleans	Political refugee "48er" Relatives here.
Tavern Owner	Lutheran	New Orleans	Military conscription.
Grocer (Cutter's Corner) Founded Ins. Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Poverty Military conscription.
Maintenance		New Orleans	Poverty.

Publishing Company, 1884), 247.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>Joseph Holthouse</u> Francis Weiss (Howard Holthouse)	1857 (parents)	Bavaria	Woodcarvers Furniture makers
<u>Jacob Getz*</u> Setta Scheibler	1858	Wuerttemberg Province	
<u>Christ Elstro**</u> Mary.....	1859	Kingdom of Hanover	
<u>George Shuerman*</u>	1859	Schlede- hausen	Cabinet- maker
<u>Charles Wessel I</u> Anna Batter (Charles Wessel III)	1866	Kingdom of Hanover	
<u>David Bullerdick</u> Mary Ellen Schultz (Bullerdick family)	1861	Schlede- hausen	
<u>Philip Schneider*</u> Catherine Miller	1861	Germany	
<u>Rev. George J. Maier</u> Lucinda Rosa (Edith Kaeuper)	1862	Moessingen, Wuerttemberg	

* *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate

** *Naturalization Records*, Wayne County Courthouse, 1859.

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
Holthouse Furniture Stores	Catholic	Cincinnati	Political turmoil.
Grocer	Lutheran	New York	Poverty.
Bricklayer	Catholic	Baltimore	
<u>Carpenter</u> Dir., J. M. Hutton Co.	Lutheran	Cincinnati	
Shoemaker	<u>Lutheran</u> Catholic		
Shoemaker	Lutheran		
<u>Painter</u> Carriage maker		Cincinnati	
<u>Principal</u> , St. John's Parochial School Dir., Wernle Home	Lutheran	Cincinnati	Poverty Opportunity here.

Publishing Company, 1884), 181, 231, 226.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>Henry Rodenberg</u> Ellen Tuecke* (Hilda Rodenberg)	1863	Schlede- hausen	Plasterer (Helped build Dutch sea wall)
<u>Florenz Thomas</u> Hannah Kamp (Gene McClelland)	1864	Oldentrup	Linen weaving
<u>Henry Lohman</u> Catherine Woehrman (Carl Lohman)	1865	Neunkirchen	
<u>August Neuman</u> Wilhelmina (Dora Neuman)	1865	Osnabrueck area	Woodcarver
<u>Simon Fox**</u> Theresa	1866	Alsace- Lorraine	
<u>William Erk</u> Dorothea Hellert (Marjorie Duning)	1867	<u>Astrup</u> Uelzen	Farmer
<u>A. W. Meyer***</u>	1869	Prussia	

* Ellen Tuecke came to Richmond as a teenager in the 1850's to work young German single women emigrated to Richmond for the same

** Lance Sussman. *The Emergence of a Jewish Community in Rich* 1981).

*** *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
Plasterer	Lutheran	Cincinnati	Poverty Military conscription.
Wayne Works	Lutheran	New York	Poverty Opportunity here.
Chaffeur for McGuire's		New York	Poverty Military conscription.
Starr Piano Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Opportunity here.
Clothing merchant	Jewish		
Cobbler	Lutheran	Baltimore	Military conscription.
<u>Bookbinder</u> City Councilman	Lutheran	Baltimore	

as a live-in maid "for wealthy Quaker families". Apparently a number of purpose.

mond, Indiana (Indianapolis: Indiana Jewish Historical Society, Inc.,

Publishing Company, 1884), 205.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>Heinrich Steen</u> Margaretha Engel (Dorothy M. Steen)	1860's	Kiel	Tailor
<u>Emil Minck*</u> Margaret Boaschantz	1869	Germany	
<u>William Duning</u> Eliz. Tiemann (Marjorie Duning)	Early 1870's	Osnabrueck	
<u>Rev. Henry Wickemeyer*</u>	1872	Hermannsburg Seminary, Hanover	Theological student
<u>George Fox</u> Millie Spiesberger	1871	Alsace- Lorraine	
<u>William F. Klopp</u> Rachel Thomas (Gene McClelland)	1874	Meisterhorst	Schoolboy
<u>H. H. Meerhof</u> Eliz. Stantker (Louise M. Ross)	1876	Osnabrueck area	Steam fitter
<u>Henry Tiemeyer</u> Carolina Eggert (Edith Tiemeyer)	1880	Osnabrueck	

* *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Interstate

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
Tailor	Lutheran		
Owned brewery		Columbus (1847)	
Woodcarver Richmond Casket Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Military conscription.
Pastor St. Paul's St. John's	Lutheran	New York	Mission work here.
Haberdasher Richman Bros.	Jewish	Cincinnati	
Ironmolder Gaar, Scott Co. City Park Supt.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Military conscription.
Steam fitter	Lutheran	New York	Poverty.
Gaar, Scott Co.	Lutheran	New York	Relatives here.

Publishing Company, 1884), 207, 247.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>Clemons Lahrman</u> Agnes Lahmann (Bertha Lahrman)	1887	Lahr in Baden	Stonecutter
<u>George Bruening</u> (Hilda Rodenberg)	1880	Belm	Farmer
<u>John Frederick Niewoehner</u> Katherina Crome (Henry E. Bode*)	1880	Wissingen	Shoemaker (wooden shoes)
<u>Ernest A. Bode</u> Katherina Niewoehner (Henry E. Bode)	1881	Wissingen	
<u>Fred Hackman</u> Ellen Klehfoth (Eliz. Guerin)	1881	Melle	Cabinet- maker
<u>Henry Miller</u> Elizabeth Eggert (Marie Nordsieck)	1882	Schlede- hausen	Butcher
<u>Clamour Pilgrim</u> Marie G. Niewoehner (Henry E. Bode)	1883	Haltern bei Belm	
<u>Frank W. Hoelscher</u> Anna Siegman (Judge Wm. Hoelscher)	1883	Belm	

* Henry E. Bode. *A Brief History of the Family of John Henry*

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
Stonecutter Wayne County Courthouse	Catholic	Boston	Friends here; Opportunity.
Sterr Piano Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	
Craftsman Sterr Piano Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Anti-Prussianism; Landlessness; Relatives here.
	Lutheran	Baltimore	Opportunity; Relatives here.
Cabinetmaker	Lutheran	Baltimore	
Gaar, Scott Co. Supt., Lutherania Cemetery	Lutheran	Baltimore	Relatives here.
	Lutheran	Baltimore	Military conscription; Relatives here.
Sterr Piano Co.	Lutheran	New York	Poverty; Relatives here.

Niewoehner I, 1810-1865 (1928), Richmond, Indiana.

FAMILY

<u>FIRST ARRIVAL</u>	<u>RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>GERMAN ORIGIN</u>	<u>GERMAN VOCATION</u>
<u>Adolph Blickwedel</u> *	1882	Hanover Province	
<u>Oliver Nusbaum</u> Mayme Neff (Edward Nusbaum)	1880's	Wiesbaden (grandp.)	Farmers
<u>Wilhelm H. Duning</u> Louisa Hasemeier (Marie Shain)	1883	Osnabrueck	Member of Royal Guard
<u>Heinrich Otte</u> (Marie D. Shain)	1882	Ostercappeln	
<u>Henry Shuerman</u> Katherine Klute (Marilyn S. Young)	1880's	Schlede- hausen	Farm laborer
<u>John Siegman</u>	1884	Belm	
<u>Wilhelm Eggert</u> Katherine Niewoehner (Marie Nordsieck)	1891	Melle	Brick/ stonemason
<u>Ludwig Nordsieck</u> Emma Dommann (Helene Nordsieck)	1891	Osnabrueck	Schoolboy

* Naturalization Records, Wayne County Courthouse, 1882.

PROFILES

<u>RICHMOND VOCATION</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>PORT OF ENTRY</u>	<u>WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED</u>
Tavern owner City councilman		New York	
Neff-Nusbaum Shoe Store	Lutheran	Philadelphia 1830's	Opportunity here.
Locksmith Luggage merchant	Lutheran	Baltimore	
Starr Piano Co.	Lutheran	New York	
Car Inspector Pennsylvania RR	Lutheran	<u>Baltimore</u> Cincinnati	Military conscription.
Cabinetmaker		New York	
Bricklayer	Lutheran	Baltimore*	Poverty; Relatives here.
Lutheran Minister	Lutheran	Baltimore	Poverty; Relatives here.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
Henry Kaeuper <u>Fred J. Kaeuper</u> Mary C. Tubesing (Paul Kaeuper)	1892 Age 17	Linne	Farmhand
<u>E. Wm. Kaeuper</u> Marie E. Njewoehner (Paul Kaeuper)	1892	Linne	Carpenter Farmer
<u>Joseph Kuhlenbeck</u> Bernadine Pillenwhessel (Roland Kuhlenbeck)	1894	Bissendorf	Cabinet- maker
<u>Elizabeth Crome</u> Carl Hackman (Elizabeth Guerin)	1890	Wissingen	Elizabeth came alone, age 16
<u>George Wagner</u> Mary Ellen Behring (Margaret Rees)	1890's	Koecherstetten Baden- Wuerttemberg	Baker
<u>August Rodefelf</u> Mary Ellen Nieman (Billie Rodefelf)	1896	Dissen	Blacksmith
<u>Henry Nordsieck</u> Elizabeth Wieseahn (Henriette Pierson)	1900	Osnabrueck	
<u>Herman Dingwerth</u> Elisabeth Siebert (Marie Shain)	1903	Ostercappeln	Machinist

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
Starr Piano Co. Key Dept. Carpenter	Lutheran	Baltimore	Poverty; Relatives here.
Starr Piano Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Poverty; Relatives here.
Cabinetmaker	Catholic		
Possibly live-in maid for "wealthy Quaker family"	Lutheran	Baltimore	Opportunity; Relatives here.
Baker	Lutheran	Marion, IN 1880's	Second son, landless; Relatives here.
Sons began Rodefelf Auto Parts Co.	Lutheran	New York	Relatives here.
Cabinetmaker Starr Piano Co.	Lutheran	Baltimore	Relatives here.
Machinist Dille-McGuire	Lutheran	New York	Military conscription; Relatives here.

FAMILY

<u>FIRST ARRIVAL</u>	<u>RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>	<u>GERMAN ORIGIN</u>	<u>GERMAN VOCATION</u>
<u>Louis Wiesehan</u> Marie Macke (Joan Manlief)	1915	Melle	Farmer
<u>William Adler II</u> Katherine H. Drees (William Adler III)	1917	Prussia Alsace	Butcher
<u>Adolf Strauss</u> Melanie Bie (Theckla Strauss)	1923	Stuttgart area	
<u>Carl Werner</u> Pauline Dresher (Walt Werner)	1922	Koecherstetten	Farm owners
<u>Ludwig Wuertemberger</u> Sophie Wagner (Walt Werner)	1923	Afaltrach, Baden- Wuerttemberg	Pipecutter
<u>Henry Luerman</u> Hedwig Seegers (Mary Maurer)	1925	Borghorst bei Muenster	Weavers Linen Mill

* Weisburg in Dearborn County is on the eastern edge of a major Ger majority of the German settlers in that area including Dearborn, Ripley miles north of Osnabrueck. Most of Oldenberg's settlers came from the nabrueck. From David S. Dreyer's, *A History of Immigration to the*

PROFILES

<u>RICHMOND VOCATION</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>PORT OF ENTRY</u>	<u>WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED</u>
Pennsylvania RR	Lutheran	Baltimore Weisburg, IN* 1880	
Chemist Starr Piano Co.	<u>Lutheran</u> Catholic	Cincinnati 1870's (Wm. I)	Turmoil of Franco- Prussian War.
Shipping Clerk Fibre Conduit Co.	Lutheran	New York	Relatives here.
Butcher	Lutheran	New York	Economic turmoil there; Relatives here.
Foreman, Backmeyer Greenhouse	Lutheran	New York	Economic Turmoil there; Opportunity here.
Woodcraftsman Starr Piano Co.	Catholic	New York	Economic turmoil there; Relatives here.

man settlement centered around Batesville and Oldenburg. The and Franklin counties came from towns and villages about thirty to fifty Damme area. Others came from Ramsche just fifteen miles north of Os-Batesville Vicinity. Indianapolis, IN. 1987.

FAMILY

FIRST ARRIVAL	RICHMOND YEAR OF ARRIVAL	GERMAN ORIGIN	GERMAN VOCATION
<u>Erich Grundman</u> Johanna Leonhardt (Erich Grundman))	1927	Zwickau, Saxony	Machinist
<u>Ralph Whisenhunt</u> Louise Tinnapple (Louise Whisenhunt)	1923	<u>Frankfurt</u> Osnabrueck	
<u>Frank Arkenberg</u> Maria Henntemann (Frank Arkenberg)	1928	Damme	Farmer
<u>Franz Kramer</u> (Frank Arkenberg)	1928	Damme	

PROFILES

RICHMOND VOCATION	RELIGION	PORT OF ENTRY	WHY FAMILY EMIGRATED
Machinist ALCOA	Lutheran	New York Pittsburgh (ALCOA '27)	Economic turmoil there; Opportunity here.
Decorative plasterer, Contractor	Lutheran	Philadelphia Lancaster, PA (1731)	Economic turmoil there; Opportunity here.
Rose grower Joseph H. Hill Co. (50 years)	Catholic	New York	Economic turmoil there; Opportunity here.
Baker	Catholic	New York	

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1. (Richmond, Indiana: Chamber of Commerce), 32-36.
2. Bernhard Knollenberg, *Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), 116.
3. *Ibid.*, 116.
4. Lance Sussman, *The Emergence of a Jewish Community in Richmond, Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Jewish Historical Society, 1981), 7-9.
5. Fred Bartel, "The Institutional Influence of the German Element of the Population in Richmond", (B.A. Thesis, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, 1900), 12. For published report see *Papers of the Wayne County Historical Society*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (1903).
6. *Memoir of David Hoover* (Richmond, 1840's), 2.
7. Hajo Holborn, *History of Modern Germany*, vol. 2. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 98-99.
8. Andrew Hoover Family Files, Wayne County Historical Museum Library, Richmond, Indiana.
9. Hajo Holborn, *Ibid.*, 377.
10. *Ibid.*, 9, 14.
11. *Ibid.*, 14.
12. Paul Kauper, "Dad and Mother: A Short Biographical Account", 12 November 1961, Richmond, Indiana.
13. Luke B. Knapke, *Liwwaet Boeke, 1807-1882, Pioneer* (Minster, Ohio: Historical Society, 1987), 7.
14. Roland Meyer, Meyer Family Records, Richmond, Indiana, 1988.
15. Margaret Rees, Wagner Family Records, Richmond, Indiana, 1988.

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16. Luke B. Knapke, *Ibid.*, 6-7.
17. Thomas Hodgskin, *Travels in North Germany* (Edinburgh, 1820), 377.
18. *Ibid.*, 307.
19. Theodore Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 76.
20. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Hanover", 69.
21. *Ibid.*, 69.
22. Robert H. Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1974), 79.
23. Veit Valentin, *1848: Chapters of American History* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949), 118-120.
24. Luke B. Knapke, *Ibid.*, 9.
25. *Ibid.*, 58.
26. *Ibid.*, 7.
27. *Ibid.*, 118-119.
28. Marie Shain, Dingwerth Family Records, Richmond, Indiana, 1988.
29. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Ibid.*, 70.
30. Henry E. Bode, *A Brief History of the Family of John Henry Niewoehner I* (Richmond, Indiana: 1928), 5.
31. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Germany", 318-319.
32. Fred Bartel, *Ibid.*, 8-10.
33. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
34. *Ibid.*, 118.

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36. Luther M. Feeger, *One Hundred Years of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1844-1944* (Richmond, Indiana, 1944), 11.
37. Robert Gorman, *The History of One Hundred Years of St. Andrew Parish, 1846-1946* (Richmond, Indiana, 1946), 29.
38. *Ibid.*, 16.
39. *Ibid.*, 25.
40. *Ibid.*, 11.
41. *A Directory of the City of Richmond* (Richmond, Indiana, 1857), 25.
42. Luther M. Feeger, *Palladium-Item*, Richmond. 25 June, 6 July, 7 August 1953.
43. John C. Garr, *Genealogy of Descendents of John Gaar and his son Andreas Gaar* (Richmond, Indiana, 1894). Also interview with Joanna Mikesell, March, 1988.
44. Interview with Ellen Bartel Klemperer, Richmond, Indiana, May, 1988. Also Bartel Family Records in her possession.
45. Interview with Roland "Doc" Cutter, Richmond, Indiana, April, 1988, and Cutter Family Records in his possession. Also Ed Kaeuper, *Palladium-Item*, Richmond. 16 May 1967.
46. *Ibid.*, 27-28.
47. *Ibid.*, 9.
48. Interview with Marie Nordsieck, Helene Nordsieck and Henriette Nordsieck Pierson, Richmond, Indiana, July, 1988, and Nordsieck and Eggert Family Records in their possession.

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49. Interview with Mary Luerman Maurer, Richmond, Indiana, September, 1988.
50. Interview with Leon Kellner, Richmond, Indiana, October, 1988.
51. Based largely on written materials supplied by Howard G. Holthouse and interview with Mr. Holthouse, Richmond, Indiana, April, 1988.
52. Interview with Edith Kaeuper, Richmond, Indiana, July, 1988, and *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1884), 96.
53. Luther Feeger, "Our History Scrapbook", *Palladium-Item*, Richmond. 3, 8, 10 August 1972.
54. *Ibid.*, 3 August 1972.
55. *Ibid.*, 30 August 1949.
56. Interviews with Judge Gustave Hoelscher, Centerville, Indiana, January, 1988, and Andrew Cecere, Richmond, Indiana, August, 1988. Also family records in possession of Carolyn Hoelscher Rendlen. Includes articles from *Palladium-Item*, Richmond, by Fred Lord, 28 January and 30 December 1966; Eloise Beach, 26, 27 and 28 January 1976; Dick Reynolds, 20 August 1986.
57. *Ibid.*, 26-29.
58. Dick Reynolds, *Palladium-Item*, Richmond. 6 November 1983, 1-3.
59. Michael Walzer, Edward Kantowicz, John Higam and Mona Harrington, *The Politics of Ethnicity* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1982), 32.
60. *Ibid.*, 32.
61. G. A. Dobbert, "The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920", *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 23 no. 4 (1965), 229-242.

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62. Patricia Tolzman, "German in Schools Went Kaput", *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 24 February 1988, 3.
63. Interviews with Lee Kellner, October, 1988; Argus Ogborn, July, 1988; Louis Whisenhunt, August, 1988 and Roland "Doc" Cutter and Dorothy Cutter, February, 1989.
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"Factors Associated with the Renewal of Anti-Semitism
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